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# USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

No 12, AUGUST 1986

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## USSR REPORT

### KOMMUNIST

No 12, August 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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## CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON THE JOURNAL KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 3-10

[Text] 1. The scale and complexity of the tasks in achieving a qualitatively new condition in socialist society, formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress, required the further creative development of revolutionary theory on the basis of the comprehensive interpretation of the great legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the study of new phenomena in life, the experience of socialist and anticolonial revolutions, the practice of building socialism and communism, the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, and the summation of the achievements of contemporary science. Historical turns and quality changes in the objective trends of social development and in socioeconomic and political circumstances are continually reflected and theoretically substantiated in Marxism-Leninism, as a live doctrine, enriching its respective concepts and its extensive and varied content.

It is particularly important under present-day conditions to make the ideological life of the party and society ever more intensive and productive, to create favorable conditions for daring scientific quests, and for surmounting scholasticism, dogmatism and bookishness, which hinder the development of creative thinking, and to concretize and develop the fundamental principles and concepts of Marxism-Leninism as an integral theory of all its components--Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism.

The journal KOMMUNIST must play an increasingly active role in the development and implementation of the congress' ideas, in the further development and intensification of the new problems in the social sciences, in ensuring a decisive turn by scientific research toward practical needs and in developing in all cadres the ability to think and act in a new style.

KOMMUNIST must be a rostrum for developing social thinking and for summing up the social experience of the masses. It must support everything that is new and progressive and that was created in the course of the reorganization. It must bring to light its urgent and profoundly revolutionary nature. It must irreconcilably oppose sluggishness, routine and obsolete concepts and prejudices in theory and practice. The duty of the journal is to prove clearly and convincingly the entire wealth and permanent significance of Lenin's ideas and their close link with our time and comprehensively to

contribute to the development of a new way of thinking and new approaches to political, organizational, economic and ideological-educational activities consistent with the requirements of the time.

It is important to make a profound study of the history and nature of petit bourgeois mentality in all its manifestations and to expose its implacable hostility to scientific socialism. The journal must be the battle organ in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, opportunistic concepts and attempts to emasculate and deaden the revolutionary and constructive content of Marxist-Leninist theory. It must oppose all manifestations of antiscientific and reactionary views on the development of human society on the basis of accurate class-oriented positions.

In the postcongress period KOMMUNIST intensified its activities. Its materials displayed purposefulness and a creative formulation of a number of theoretical problems and realistic assessments of practical phenomena; its presentation of the materials became more dynamic. However, the work of the journal must reach a higher quality new level on a stable long-term basis.

2. The main objective of the journal KOMMUNIST must be the profound interpretation of the concepts, conclusions and stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress, the formulation of the entire set of conceptual, socioeconomic and moral-psychological aspects of the accelerated progress of the country and, on this basis, the enrichment of the acceleration as the fullest possible theoretical expression of the objective requirements of the contemporary stage of development of Soviet society. KOMMUNIST must be at the head of the initiated theoretical interpretation of the new problems borne of the practice of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country.

The journal's publications must bring to light the fundamental Leninist views on socialism as the live creativity of the people's masses, the role and significance of the human factor in all social changes and the universal-historical achievements of the socialist system and its advantages and possibilities in the development of the economy, the social area and democracy and the enrichment of spiritual life.

The steady observance of the dialectical method in the study of social reality, which combines a revolutionary critical view, theoretical insight and scientific anticipation of the basic trends of the forward development of society, the sources of the dynamics of which are the real contradictions and the struggle between the old and the new, which cover all areas of social life, are the key to the steady increase in the study of society and the laws of its advancement.

The Marxist-Leninist classics left the greatest possible examples of the use of the dialectical method in various areas of science and practical work. They proved the invincible power of this method. To observe this method today means soberly to analyze facts, to be guided by the objective logic of life, rather than by far-fetched dogmas and stereotypes. The main requirement of the 27th CPSU Congress is to face the variety of life itself. It is only thus that the creative enrichment of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking can be attained. This requires scientific daring, fundamental theoretical

summations, the open comparison and competition among ideas in research, discussions and debates on all unstudied or understudied problems of philosophy, political economy, the theory of scientific communism, history and the other social sciences. The main purpose is to attain real results in social studies which must assist practical work, the accelerated development of society, the enrichment of culture, the enhancement of the human potential and the ascent of man himself to the heights of knowledge and morality.

KOMMUNIST must stimulate the initiative-minded formulation of new problems raised by life. It must set an example of profound and comprehensive study of such problems, and of accuracy of information, verification and efficiency of social and economic forecasts and recommendations. It must actively contribute to the profound reorganization of the entire system of social studies. In developing an atmosphere of creative quests and comradely discussions, it must combine in a Leninist style novelty and mental flexibility with accurate class positions and conceptual and methodological principle-mindedness.

3. KOMMUNIST must solve serious problems in encouraging the development of new trends and forms of activities in Marxist-Leninist philosophy and scientific communism and in upgrading their quality. Philosophical thinking is still largely immersed either into the past or into abstractions far removed from practical life, to the detriment of the study of the vital problems of our time. Philosophy can efficiently perform its social and scientific functions only by promptly reacting to the main events in the country and the world and to fundamental scientific discoveries and processes. It must provide answers to the crucial problems of daily life and to spiritual and complex moral problems.

The purpose of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is to continue to develop its scientific content and to be the theoretical and methodological foundation for the other sciences. Not least, the quality of this most important aspect of philosophical work depends on upgrading the standards of philosophical research and taking into consideration the specific nature of the cognitive approach to the world adopted by philosophy. Equally unacceptable in this case are ignoring such specifics or reducing them to the means and methods of other specific sciences, as well as the alienation of philosophical research from the development of the entire set of scientific knowledge.

Contemporary social development formulates problems which are of a primarily comprehensive nature, requiring for their solution the combined efforts of scientists working in different areas. Philosophy must assume a more initiative-oriented role in drawing the attention of scientists to such problems. It must study the universal, essential and natural ties and relations and interpret them on a broad conceptual and cultural-historical level. It must bring to light the growing significance of the socioethical aspects of scientific activities. It is necessary to expand and strengthen the alliance between philosophers and representatives of the individual natural, technical and social sciences, which V.I. Lenin bequeathed to us, and to undertake joint studies with them of major national economic, sociopolitical and cultural problems.

Primary among the most important problems of philosophy and scientific communism are the following:

The dialectics of development of socialist society at the new historical stage: accelerated socioeconomic development and transition to a qualitatively new status of Soviet society; perfecting the social and political system; developing the superstructure of socialist society under the conditions of the growing democratization of social life; the nature of contradictions in socialist society and the mechanism for their solution; asserting the principles of social justice under contemporary conditions; the social values of socialism; strengthening and developing multinational Soviet statehood; and socialism as the historical alternative to capitalism.

Sociophilosophical and methodological problems of scientific and technical progress: the social aspects of the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution, and the opposite nature of the humanistic and technocratic approaches to it; problems of education and enhancing the skill and retraining of cadres, including the growing need of society for knowledge of electronics; theoretical and applied problems of the development of an "artificial intellect;" the scientific and technical revolution and the new means for the study of the surrounding world; ways and means of combining the latest stage of the scientific and technical revolution, related to the appearance of man in space, the use of nuclear power, the development of microelectronics and data processing, robot engineering and biotechnology, and to the radical advantages of socialism on a qualitatively new stage in its development under the conditions of acceleration.

The study of conceptual and ethical-humanistic problems of scientific and technical progress is inseparable from the critique of technocratism, manifested in the concept of the "information society" of the 21st century, allegedly replacing both capitalism and socialism, scientism, and moral-ethical nihilism, which are popular in Western bourgeois philosophy;

The enhanced role of the human factor in the forward development of society: the human factor as the organic unity between consciousness and activity; need for scientific and technical progress by the universal worker and the communist ideal of the all-round developed individual; the human intellect as the most important of all social resources; manifestation of all human capabilities and possibilities as the motive force and supreme objective of social progress.

The most important trend in the activities of all social sciences is their active participation in the communist upbringing of the masses. Science is called upon to contribute to shaping the outlook and moral qualities of man, the growth of a conscious attitude toward labor, self-discipline and feelings of responsibility and collectivism.

It is necessary to develop more extensively sociological studies, including that of problems related to coordinating social, collective and individual interests, the study of the needs and incentives governing human activities, the study of the socioeconomic and moral-political foundations of the socialist way of life, family-marital relations and public opinion. It is

necessary comprehensively to assert the lofty ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and the social and moral principles of socialism and to wage an aggressive struggle against the contemporary varieties of philistinism, lack of spirituality, dependency and consumerism.

Greater attention must be paid to the complex problems of life and the development of the individual and his objectives, ideals and values; deeper studies must be made of the interaction between social and natural-biological factors.

4. The reorganization of the economy, the radical reform of the economic mechanism and the perfecting of management require a profound development of economic theory and, above all, the study of radical problems in that theory, such as the dialectics of production forces and production relations, combination of centralism with autonomy, and the Leninist ideas of cooperation and tax-in-kind as applicable to contemporary conditions.

KOMMUNIST must concentrate on the radical Marxist concept of the dialectical contradiction in the interaction between production forces and production relations as the main booster of social progress. The steady and purposeful advancement of production relations and economic management methods is a mandatory prerequisite for a sharp acceleration of scientific and technical and socioeconomic progress and the enhancement of the human factor and the creativity of the masses. Two organically interrelated trends in the radical economic reform, called upon drastically to enhance the conversion to intensive type of expanded socialist reproduction, are of great theoretical and practical interest: the all-round enhancement of the efficiency of planned and centralized management in the solution of strategic problems and defining the pace and proportions in the development of the national economy and its balancing, on the one hand, and the all-round development of initiative and widening the boundaries of autonomy and increasing the responsibility of enterprises and associations, on the other.

It is within the context of this double task that the following problems must be formulated and solved: conversion of enterprises and associations to true cost accounting, recovery of investments and self-financing, and establishing a direct correlation between the level of income of collectives and the efficiency of their work; conversion to economic management methods on all levels; organizing management on the basis of contemporary structures, taking into consideration the trend toward production concentration, specialization and cooperation; ensuring the optimal combination between sectorial and territorial management and the comprehensive economic development of republics and regions and organizing efficient intersectorial relations; achieving comprehensive democratization of management and upgrading within it the role of labor collectives; intensifying control from below and accountability and publicity in the work of economic authorities.

Special attention should be paid to strengthening nationwide ownership of means of production and the forms of its realization, and comprehensive utilization of the possibilities of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership in solving crucial socioeconomic problems, including the development of consumer and industrial cooperation and individual labor activities.

Problems of the pace of economic development, the new quality of growth under the conditions of comprehensive production intensification on the basis of scientific and technical progress, the structural reorganization of the economy, and efficient forms of labor management, organization and incentive require comprehensive analysis. We must profoundly examine the interconnection between economic and social factors, the means of reconstruction of the national economy, enhanced labor productivity, resource conservation, improving production quality and implementing the new social, structural, investment, scientific and technical, agrarian, regional and foreign economic policy.

It is necessary to develop and interpret the political and economic aspects of the healthy functioning of commodity-monetary relations on a socialist basis, the role, place and historical prospects of commodity production and the law of value under socialism; to bring to light the specific forms of utilization of the set of tools for commodity-monetary relations in accordance with the reorganization of the management system. In this connection we need studies dedicated to perfecting planned price setting, the financial-credit management levers, monetary circulation, accelerated capital turnover and optimized combination of nationwide, collective and individual interests.

Scientific collaboration on these and other topical problems of economic theory and policy must be based on the study and summation of economic practice and the economic experiments carried out in the country and be directed toward the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, improved economic efficiency, utilization of all reserves of economic growth and the enhanced interest of the working people in better economic management and multiplication of national resources.

5. KOMMUNIST must comprehensively interpret the ideas of the overall strong social policy, the enhancement of new approaches in the social area, the ways and means of improving material and spiritual life and the essence and nature of the principle of social justice under socialism. A contemporary view on the development of the social area must be organically related to the decisive role of the human factor in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the increasing display of the humanistic nature of socialism.

Tireless attention must be paid to topical current and long-term problems of upgrading the people's well-being and the substantiation of the most efficient means of solving them and the discussion of vital problems of life effecting the interest of the different population groups and strata. The journal must contribute to strengthening the social orientation of cadres and to developing in them the ability accurately to define the range and sequence in the solution of social problems and to find more efficient means of attaining the planned socialist objectives.

The comprehensive study of the dynamics of socioclass and national relations and the variety within social life and interests, and needs inherent in socialism, and the reasons for and ways of surmounting antisocial phenomena is important.

The development of the concept of the further democratization of society, based on increased intensified socialist self-government by the people in all its aspects, the broadening of publicity and strengthening socialist legality, the elimination of bureaucratism and the enrichment and utilization of the entire arsenal of sociopolitical and individual rights and freedoms of the Soviet person and his obligations at work and in life are of essential significance.

Particularly topical in the social area are problems related to the increasingly full and profound mastery by the toiling masses of the riches of spiritual and material culture and their exposure to various types of artistic and scientific and technical creativity. The task of KOMMUNIST is purposefully to disseminate the party's cultural policy, to bring to light and to support trends contributing to the steady upsurge of socialist culture and the enrichment of the spiritual life of society and the intensification of the moral and aesthetic upbringing of the people, the growing generations in particular, and shaping in them healthy needs and high aesthetic tastes. Greater attention must be paid to the creative problems of literature and the arts and to the publication of materials on the role of Marxist-Leninist criticism and articles opposing lack of ideas and conceptual omnivorousness, aesthetic dullness and lack of discrimination. We must cultivate the competition among minds and talents and competitiveness in the area of artistic creativity.

A party assessment must be given to any manifestation of national exclusivity and boastfulness, nationalism and chauvinism, regardless of the way in which they are manifested. The Leninist principles are basic in the study and interpretation of the history of Soviet multinational culture.

6. The present conceptual foundation for a peace-loving foreign policy is an organic blend of the new political philosophy of peace with a platform for specific decisive action, proceeding from the realities of the nuclear-space age, in which the historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism can and must take place exclusively in a peaceful manner. General disarmament, elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe, improvement of international relations and a wide exchange of the achievements of science and technology and cultural values are the main targets of an all-embracing comprehensive system of international security and cooperation suggested by the congress.

The most important trend in the journal's work is to cover the theoretical foundations and humanistic objectives of the party's peace-loving foreign policy, the study of the trends of development and contradictions in the contemporary world and the condition and ways of efficient solution of the global problems of mankind, the most important of which are the prevention of nuclear war and the preservation of civilization and life on earth.

Attention must be focused on the new phenomena characterizing the growing impact of world socialism on international processes, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the contradictions between labor and capital and among capitalist countries, particularly among the three basic centers of contemporary capitalism--the United States, Western Europe and Japan--the



multinational corporations and the national-state form of political organization of society, the interests of the military-industrial complex and the broad popular masses, and between imperialism and the developing countries and peoples.

One of the most important tasks of the journal must be work on problems of the development of world socialism and the new type of international relations. It must interpret the main changes occurring in the socialist community at the present crucial stage in global developments, and the processes of intensification of cooperation in all areas of social activities. It must profoundly summarize and disseminate the positive experience of fraternal parties, organize joint discussions of topical problems of building socialism and international politics. It must pay constant attention to the problems of economic integration and progressive forms of cooperation in the interest of the acceleration of scientific and technical and socioeconomic development, the economic security of the socialist countries and the enhancement of the influence and prestige of socialism throughout the world.

A profound study must be made of the processes occurring in the communist, worker, national-liberation and broad democratic movements. It is important to take into consideration the new realities, problems and tasks they have encountered in recent years.

Under circumstances governed by the strict ideological confrontation in the international arena, the journal must wage an aggressive struggle against the ideology and politics of imperialist oppression, social revenge and militarism. It must skillfully defend the historical justice of socialist ideas and practices and convincingly expose the bourgeois policy of spiritual enslavement of the masses. In the struggle for the minds and hearts of the people it is important to indicate the essential coincidence of the basic interests of the working class and all working people and the objectives of the communists and the basic humanistic values of mankind.

7. The main task of KOMMUNIST is to bring to light the vanguard role of the party in the socioeconomic acceleration of our society, and the study, summation and dissemination of the new forms and methods of political, organizational and ideological activities of party committees. Its materials must help the radical restructuring of party work, improvement in the style and methods of political leadership and the strengthening within the party of an atmosphere of creativity, comradeship and principle-minded exigency, criticism and self-criticism and the education of cadres, the party aktiv and all party members in the spirit of bolshevik traditions.

Essential intensification of scientific research is needed not only of the theory but also the history of the CPSU and the global communist and worker movements, as well as fundamental summations of the laws governing the historical development of the communist movement in all countries as the spokesman for the age-old expectations of the working people and all progressive mankind. The study of past experience, addressed to the present and the future, is a necessary element of theory and a method with the help of which new theoretical conclusions can be formulated. In advancing in that direction, it is necessary organically to combine the study of the past with

the interpretation of the present and the anticipation of the future, to turn to the past, as Lenin said, "from the viewpoint of what will be necessary tomorrow or the day after in terms of our policy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 136), and to shift the center of gravity "not only on the description of what we experienced but on the experience which we have obtained and must obtain for purposes of our immediate practical activities" (op cit., vol 39, p 342). We must always turn to V.I. Lenin's creative laboratory and to the works he wrote during the last years of his life, which provide models of profound theoretical conclusions based precisely on the real practice of the initial experiences in building socialism.

The elaboration of basic historical-party problems and the comprehensive interpretation of the distance covered by the party, the profound description of its leading role, particularly at crucial stages, and the dialectics of continuity and innovation in party policy, the state and prospects of development of party history science and the quality of research and teaching are problems which must always be in the center of the journal's activities.

8. The journal faces important assignments in connection with the approaching 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It must publish a series of articles which would describe from various sides the many-faceted experience of our party and people and draw the attention, as V.I. Lenin said on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the revolution, "to the still unsolved" problems and the interconnection between the ideals of the October Revolution and the present party course. In considering the universal historical significance of the October Revolution and its humanistic principles, and the achievements and advantages of the system it created, we must comprehensively bring to light the pioneering, the innovative nature of socialist changes in our country, without ignoring errors and omissions, proving the ability of the party to assess them properly and to find accurate solutions needed for further progress on the path of the October Revolution. The published materials must instill a sense of the living ties among time, politics and revolutionary traditions and their consistency with the overall moral and psychological atmosphere which developed after the April plenum and the 27th Party Congress.

9. The journal's content, forms and work methods must be made consistent with the needs of the time. It is necessary to expand the aktiv of the journal's contributors, to rally around it the best theoretical forces and energetically to attract new authors.

The editors must strengthen their ties with party scientific and education institutions and with the institutes of USSR Academy of Sciences. They must hold joint scientific conferences and seminars and set up comprehensive groups for work on the most important materials. The discussions and debates must be conducted in such a way as to contribute to a real increase in knowledge and to the formulation of serious recommendations of a conceptual nature. Replacing the discussion of topical and urgent vital problems with pseudoscientific arguments and major theoretical problems with scholastic and abstract verbiage must be totally excluded.

The range of reviewed and annotated works and books must be broadened; periodically problem-analytical surveys of the state of affairs in the various areas of development of the social sciences, the arts, literature and education must be published. Publications in social science journals must be analyzed and assessed; practical contacts must be established with such journals. Critical-bibliographic materials in KOMMUNIST must display party principle-mindedness, high scientific criteria, objectiveness, and exigency which would exclude any attempt at settling group and personal accounts, bad taste and subjectivistic prejudices and labeling.

The journal must systematically publish reviews of mail received by the editors and letters and suggestions submitted by the readers. It must regularly hold conferences with readers, including in primary party organizations and labor collectives and meetings with the party aktivs and the scientific public; public opinion surveys must be used for the sake of improving the journal's work.

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### COMMODITY-MONETARY RELATIONS IN THE CONCEPT OF ACCELERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 11-22

[Article by V. Kulikov, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The concept of acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society is based on the need to harness all possibilities of the socialist system and to use all of its inherent economic laws and methods of economic management. This approach calls for abandoning prejudices which have developed in the course of many years and to review some theoretical concepts. This pertains, as was particularly emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, also to the problem of commodity-monetary relations under socialism.

#### 1

History, including the history of science, by no means always repeats itself in its best manifestations. Let us note in this connection that the statement made by Marx' great predecessor D. Ricardo, the founder of bourgeois classical political economy, that "nothing has caused such a large number of errors and differences in this science (political economy--author) as has, precisely, the vagueness of concepts implied in the word 'value'" (D. Ricardo, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 35), is quite relevant also in terms of our own publications.

The problem of commodity-monetary relations in the system of planned socialist production, organized on a national economic scale, based on ownership by the whole people, has been actively analyzed and discussed in the course of the almost entire period of establishment and development of socialism in the USSR and in the fraternal socialist countries. A critical assessment of such discussions today leads to the conclusion that they have been largely of a scholastic nature. Not the least reason for this was that for a long time all debates could be reduced practically to a single problem: the reasons for retaining commodity production relations in the socialist economy.

Naturally, we cannot deny the significance of the topic. However, nor should we ignore something else: practical experience has frequently proved the successful use of phenomena the reasons for which were not entirely explained theoretically. The excessive importance attached to the reasons for the preservation of commodity-monetary relations under socialism distracts us from

the main problems of today: What is the nature of their new content as set in the CPSU program, what are their role, main trends and forms of application in economic management practices and how to make said application more efficient? One-sided interpretations, including some of a dogmatic and narrow-pragmatic nature, became widespread in the study of the role of commodity-monetary relations under socialism. Characteristic of some of them are a nihilistic attitude toward commodity production and a particular emphasis on negative phenomena which such production can trigger. Conversely, we find in others an absolutizing of the positive potential of commodity-monetary relations and the concept of possibilities of the development of the economy and of upgrading its efficiency as being exclusively dependent on the development of such relations, and calls for adopting the universal and unrestricted use of such development. In other cases again, there have been long considerations of the importance of the use of value categories, accompanied by claims that they have become totally restructured and "entirely different." This means that their actual content (and, consequently, their use as such) has been emasculated. Actually, in this case it is a question only of a formal acknowledgment of commodity-monetary relations.

As has become clear today, from the theoretical and practical viewpoints, even at rather high levels of development of socialism such relations not only remain but also play an important role in the functioning of the socialist economy. Let us emphasize in this connection that without a scientific determination, on the one hand, of differences and, on the other, the features of the real unity between classical commodity production and commodity production under socialism, it is impossible accurately to interpret the programmatic thesis of the new content of commodity-monetary relations in socialist society. In our view, this thesis has at least two aspects.

With the switch to capitalism, the content of commodity-monetary relations seems to double: while retaining their own relatively autonomous content, they also become a form which ensures the functioning of relations of exploitation of hired labor, i.e., they assume a capitalist content. With the establishment of socialism, the latter is eliminated and replaced by a new, a socialist content: at this point commodity-monetary relations help to attain socioeconomic objectives opposite to those of capitalism.

This is the first and quite clear aspect of the view on the new content of such relations under socialism. However, this does not eliminate the question of what happens to the content of commodity production relations itself?

The main contradiction in commodity production--the contradiction between the directly individualized and covertly-social labor--in internal relations within the socialist countries is preserved only as an element. This is the result of the revolutionary change in the socioeconomic circumstances in which commodity-monetary relations operate. However, this does not indicate in the least that the phenomenon itself no longer exists. It is a question of preserving the relative economic separation among individual units and the features of abstract labor and, therefore, of contradictions between specific and abstract labor and between consumer value and value. The law of prices remains the same as the law of value. Many relations take place in the form

of purchase and sale of the produced item through the intermediary function of money.

This is of essential importance in understanding the role and consequences of the preservation of commodity-monetary forms under socialism. The supporters of the nihilistic attitude toward them frequently describe their use as a virtual borrowing of bourgeois economic management methods, claiming that commodity output must inevitably trigger and increase the reproduction of capitalist elements.

Views on the bourgeois nature of commodity-monetary economic management methods as such are simply not serious: the bourgeoisie developed them comprehensively but hardly invented them. They appeared and have existed for millennia prior to the appearance of capitalism.

The question of the capitalist trend of commodity production deserves great attention, for historically this trend, which was clearly defined by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, has been frequently manifested. Furthermore, there have been and still are false interpretations of the role of commodity-monetary relations, which absolutize them. This is most completely and systematically found in the variants of the theory of "marketplace socialism."

With the transition to socialism the fundamental relations within the production method lose their commodity nature. Here the worker is directly related to the means of production and manpower has "rejected" the value form. A single nationwide cooperation of labor appears on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production, as a result of which commodity output is eliminated as a ruling social system, i.e., as a system of "atomized" economic units, interrelated exclusively through the marketplace. All of this objectively eliminates the question of realizing, of turning into reality, the abstract possibility of a capitalist development of retained commodity production relations. The nationwide ownership of decisive means of production, the direct ties between the worker and the means of production, the single cooperation of labor (which has as its intrinsic element a socioeconomic center, whose functions are performed by the socialist state) and centralized economic management on the scale of the entire society "and for the sake of the entire society" (Lenin) are the objective guarantees for the nonrestoration of capitalism and all the necessary and adequate prerequisites for the active utilization of commodity-monetary relations in the interest of the strengthening and dynamic development of socialism.

Naturally, on the grounds of commodity production relations and in the absence of the proper forms of their utilization some negative phenomena, conflicting with the nature of socialism, could and do develop. However, it would be the grossest possible error to ascribe the shortcomings in the specific forms of utilization of commodity-monetary relations to their use as such. Let us point out that the nihilistic approach to the latter is one of the reasons for such shortcomings, for if a legitimately existing phenomenon is not provided with the necessary objectively predetermined scope, it assumes a "clandestine" status, as a result of which it inevitably becomes distorted.

This is one of the important lessons learned from the practice of socialist economic management in the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Such practical experience clearly indicates that efforts of basic rejection of the utilization of commodity-monetary relations have equally dangerous negative consequences. This applies above all to increasing the bartering element of the economy, lowering incentives for efficient work and retaining the reached development level, which clearly clashes with the course of acceleration of socioeconomic progress.

Let us particularly note in this connection that success can be achieved only through the use of commodity-monetary relations which are based on their own qualities and specific features. Attention must be drawn to this aspect of the matter, for we still come across concepts according to which words such as "wage," "price," "production cost," "profit" and "credit" have in our country meanings only superficially similar to such actual phenomena. It would have been only half as bad had such exercises been of a purely literary nature. Yet practical recommendations, which are sometimes carried out, are formulated on their basis. As a result, for example, the price becomes a "tried" means of concealing the poor work of enterprises and sectors, "organically" included in the so-called cost mechanism, which was so emphatically described at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee. Differences between budget financing and credit disappear: the latter assumes an indefinite repayment form or becomes a grant, while the interest rate has no active influence on production and on increasing its efficiency.

In real life each specific form of economic management contributes to the solution of some problems, is neutral toward other and negative toward other again. That is why it is of exceptional importance to determine in advance the possible positive and negative aspects of suggested practical recommendations. It is only with such a comprehensively weighed and balanced approach that undesirable consequences can be avoided. Bearing in mind the commodity-monetary relations existing under the conditions of real socialism, in his speech at the all-union practical science conference on problems of ideological work (December 1984), M.S. Gorbachev said that their instruments are "extensively applied in the socialist economy. It is important to learn how to make even better use of such instruments without, naturally, forgetting that under socialism their nature and significance change. This requires serious scientific recommendations in terms of the current application of economic levers such as price, production costs, profit, credit and some others." He further emphasized the "at the same time, reducing the task of the fuller utilization of the potential of the socialist economic system merely to this would mean reducing the value of basic principles and advantages of socialism, such as the planned nature of our economy, the priority given to social objectives in economic development and the possibility of the conscious optimizing of such development in order to implement the profound qualitative changes in the production process in the interest of society."

One of the prerequisites for the total elimination of one-sided interpretations of commodity-monetary relations under socialism is exposing the roots of such interpretations. In our view, two groups may be singled out among them: gnosiological (related to the process of scientific knowledge) and ontological (proceeding from the features of the studied object itself).

One of the main prerequisites for the dragged out and largely scholastic debates on the reasons for the existence for commodity-monetary relations under socialism (as well as one-sided assessments of their role in socialist economic management) is the old view of considering production relations as separate from the real dynamics of production forces. The condition of the latter predetermines the level of production socialization and, consequently, the degree of maturity of direct social relations which, under socialist conditions, are a reality although not an entirely developed one yet. This is codified in the following programmatic formula: "At the higher phase of the communist system the direct social nature of labor and production will be established in full."

The real condition of the socialist socialization of production is such that it does not exclude elements of economic autonomy of individual economic units. It is precisely this that, in the final account, makes inevitable the preservation of commodity-monetary relations and determines the need for their accurate utilization in economic management practices.

Another circumstance is equally important: the frequent lack of desire and ability to combine opposites. Yet it is precisely this that Lenin demanded. "We managed to learn some Marxism," he wrote. "We learned how and why one can and must combine opposites and, above all, in our revolution, in three-and-a-half years we have practically repeatedly combined opposites" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 42, p 211).

The problem of combining and putting together opposite sides is of key importance in solving a problem which has turned out to be particularly difficult in its theoretical and practical aspects: the interaction between the direct-social and commodity-monetary forms in the socialist economy. Here, on the one hand, we come across the absolutizing of the unity of a given form. In other words, commodity-monetary relations are proclaimed as being virtually identical with direct-social relations and the existence of any contradiction between the two is rejected. On the other hand, we question the very possibility of their unity, which leads to their metaphysical contraposition.

We believe that both approaches oversimplify the actual situation. It would be naive, to say the least, to think that the potential of the socialist economic system can be fully brought to light by relying exclusively or primarily on commodity-monetary relations. This approach, as we pointed out, leads to belittling the fundamental principles of socialism. Essentially, this counteracts (consciously or subconsciously) the strategy of acceleration, the essence of which is the maximal "activating" above all of the radical advantages which are based on the general communist and specifically socialist



foundations of our economy (ownership by the whole people, law of planned development, basic economic law, law of distribution according to labor). "Our political line," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his speech at the conference of the aktiv of the Khabarovsk Kray party organization, "is aimed at identifying in full the potential opportunities and advantages of the socialist system, eliminating all obstacles and all hindrances to our progress and giving scope to the factors of social progress."

Furthermore, it would be equally naive to think that under the real conditions of socialist economic management we can do with direct-social forms only. The historically transitional nature of commodity-monetary relations does not exclude in the least combinations between the two. On the contrary, it is only through such combinations that we can achieve the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country.

Nor should we ignore the entire complexity of the object itself of the study of socialist political economy. The system of actual socialist production relations formulates essentially new methodological and theoretical problems for which there are no direct analogues in the past and which could not be anticipated. Whereas in "Das Kapital" Marx deals with the stage of high maturity of the production method, socialist political economy deals with the stage of its establishment. Under such a specific historical situation, the method described in "Das Kapital," which is the base of the method of political economy in the broad meaning of the term, is not always able to supply direct recommendations and specific prescriptions for solving the political and economic problems of socialism.

Furthermore, the new system was initiated in a country which had not gone through the entire "course" of developed capitalism. Initially, vestiges of a barter economy were widespread in our economy and the inadequacy of real economic relations had to be compensated by the state with a rigid administrative regulation of public production. The building of socialism in a separate country limited historical experience and created favorable grounds for the adoption of specific planned management of the economy as universally significant, although they were dictated by temporary necessity.

It was under these circumstances that the concepts according to which the role of groups of relations which would prevail in the higher phase of communism (including commodity-monetary relations) would steadily decline, mandatorily and during all stages of progress toward the latter, became almost universally accepted. However, this position appears impeccable only from the formal-logical viewpoint. Essentially, it simplifies and reduces the actual process to a primitive level. Thus, in the course of the development of socialism more favorable conditions are created for the systematic implementation of the principles of distribution according to labor. The use of commodity-monetary relations under consideration is by no means as yet adequately consistent with their objectively predetermined position in socialist production. The elimination of the artificial restrictions in the functioning of such relations and the further enhancement and increased efficiency of their application and the strengthening of their unity with direct-social relations are absolutely mandatory.

The dialectics of socialism as a whole is such that relations such as general-communist ones do not reach the higher phase of communism but form within the real socialist economy a single unity within the framework of which it functions and develops and which must be taken fully into consideration in the theory and practice of socialist economic management. During the 1951 discussion it was already indicated that the greatest role in the functioning and development of the socialist economy is played by the basic economic law of socialism, the law of a planned development of the entire public production, the law of distribution according to labor and the law of value. Subsequent theoretical and practical experience not only failed to refute this conclusion but confirmed it even more so.

The time has come to abandon ideas according to which the withering away of commodity-monetary relations will be reduced to steadily restricting and narrowing their range. In presuming a gigantic growth of the public nature of the production process, compared with capitalism socialism needs to an immeasurably greater degree summed up manifestations of the variety of types of labor and products and the standardizing of labor activities in accordance with the increased complexity of the structure of social needs and their drastically increased dynamism. Under these circumstances, it becomes urgently necessary, to provide a comprehensive scientific identification and apply energetically the entire positive potential which is objectively contained in commodity-monetary relations in order to solve the problems.

Consequently, the historical prospects are the following: no mechanical "elimination" of such relations but increasingly giving them a new content and increasing their integration with direct social relations within the framework of a single system of socialist production relations.

3

Some of the ills still afflicting today the socialist economic management system include the insufficient objective substantiation of planning activities; the extensive spread of dependency (starting with the work place and ending with sectors and departments); vestiges of a barter economy, which are being eliminated too slowly and are sometimes even intensifying; equalization in distribution on all levels of economic management; lack of organization (on the same levels) of a mechanism for replacing incompetent workers. One can differ as much as one wishes in the interpretation of the reasons for and nature of said negative phenomena but one thing is clear: the true acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society would be inconceivable without their elimination. In this case increased economic activeness, in socialized production above all, and the use of commodity-monetary relations are scheduled to play a tremendous role.

In their theoretical search Marxists proceed from the objective nature of the economic laws of socialism. In economic management practices, however, there has frequently occurred and still occurs a factual retreat from this basic stipulation. One of the reasons for this is the underdeveloped nature of objective criteria governing interrelationships on different levels and in different economic management units, particularly "vertically" (between superior and inferior organizations).

As the owner of the means of production, in principle the socialist state has the right and the real possibility of taking from the enterprises the entire added product. Such confiscation is entirely admissible under exceptional circumstances. In the normal course of affairs, however, relations between the state and the enterprises cannot be structured on this basis. The criteria governing the foundations of such relations are based on the nature of the economic laws of socialism and their objective subordination.

The solution of the nonantagonistic contradiction inherent in socialism between society as the single owner and society as the totality of associated owners or society as a single association representing specific individuals (and their associations, their collectives) presumes the following: each associated owner (co-owner) and each collective has a share of the product created by society. The socioeconomic center in its governmental form directly embodies the unity of the specific members of the association and, therefore, cannot lay a claim not only on the entire overall public product but also on the added product; it has no objective grounds for arbitrarily distributing income among economic units. In our view, this methodological approach is contained in the concept formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress on the creative utilization of Lenin's ideas of the tax-in-kind as applicable to contemporary conditions.

This is an essential qualitative aspect of the matter which, however, leaves open the question of the quantitative determination of the share of each associated owner and each collective of the created product. This share, according to the law of distribution according to labor, is proportional to the labor contribution of individuals and collectives to the overall results of the activities of the association.

In principle, we believe that this approach in determining the share applies not only to individual workers and enterprises but also to the amount of the centralized part of the overall social product, for the objective need of setting up a single nationwide association, "a single nationwide cooperative" (Lenin) is related to the fact that, starting at a certain point in production socialization, the latter cannot normally operate without centralized economic management. This type of economic management is called upon, in particular, to prevent losses which are inevitable in its absence. It is not in vain that Lenin wrote about labor savings through centralization (see op cit., vol 34, p 320). The efficiency of the latter is determined precisely by the size of such savings. The centralized part of the overall social product must be encompassed within it and exceeding this framework means a higher cost of expected results.

All currently developed and applied economic standards must be based on objective criteria. The effect of the law of value must be assigned an important role in their determination. The requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 plenum on the extensive application of a standardized approach to the distribution of profits and the formation of the wage fund directly call for the more energetic application of this law. The planned standards, which represent the unity of direct social and value principles governing principle relations in socialism were qualified by the party congress as a promising instrument of economic management, in which the

"centralized principle in economic management is flexibly combined with the utilization of commodity-monetary relations and the law of value."

The question of the self-regulating nature of the socialist economy appears within the framework of the concept of acceleration. Although we are familiar from previous experience with the self-regulation of the market only, the relevant question now is the following: What does the self-regulation of a planned economic system mean? Obviously, here the following aspects play a key role: intensified orientation toward objective criteria in economic relations; extension of the standardized approach; conversion to total cost accounting, which includes self-recovery and self-financing; extensive use of the contracting system; strengthening the principle of competitiveness in a number of areas (including competition for consumers and better satisfaction of social needs, and allocating funds in some production areas based on the competition principles). The unity of direct-social and commodity relations is embodied precisely in all of these forms.

For a long period of time it was not accepted to write about dependency in the economy. We believe that this topic merits particular attention, for dependency, for which some real grounds exists, can, as practical experience has indicated, become a major hindrance in upgrading production efficiency. That is why this question has been raised today by the party in its full magnitude.

It seems to us that here socialism, by introducing a guaranteed material status of workers and labor collectives, objectively creates a possibility for the appearance of complacency and elements of stagnation and dependency. The latter is particularly dangerous under contemporary conditions, when the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and production intensification demand of all workers on all levels of economic management to display initiative and seek new means of upgrading social production efficiency. The only solution here is to establish a firm tie between income on all levels of economic management and the specific contribution made to overall labor results and a universal intensification of material responsibility along this line.

Obviously, it is within the same context that the following must be considered: What to do with citizens and economic organizations who work poorly? On the one hand, the guarantees we noted apply to them as well: based on the very foundations of socialist social justice, society cannot deprive its members of means of existence. On the other hand, however, it cannot tolerate those who try to "take more than they contribute." Consequently, it is necessary to determine for each specific stage of development the specific volume of guarantees provided by society to all of its members without exception.

Such guarantees could hardly include assigning to everyone the type of work he prefers: in this case economic subdivisions would be unable to get rid of poor workers and of manpower released as a result of scientific and technical progress. Under the conditions of a transition to an intensive type of expanded reproduction, therefore, the following question becomes aggravated: Who should be responsible for the employment of such manpower? Since at the

present time the responsibility is that of enterprises, they are not motivated to act energetically in getting rid of poor or surplus workers. We believe, therefore, that economic subdivisions should not undertake to find jobs for such workers; in our view, the expedient solution of this problem should be undertaken by a special governmental service.

In frequent cases superior authorities are interested in concealing "their own" poorly working enterprises and associations. That is why we must develop a mechanism for their exposure, which would include extradepartmental control. In particular, a noteworthy suggestion is that of having the bank proclaim insolvent poorly working economic units. This step, naturally, would not mean that such an enterprise would be closed down, for under socialism such problems are not within the competence of enterprise administrations or even departments, but of society as a whole. However, this would focus the attention of the public on economic units in which an exceptional situation has developed and would stipulate specific sanctions (such as setting up an interdepartmental commission with exceptional rights to correct the existing situation, replace organization managers, etc.).

The vestiges of a barter economy, the durability and negative effect of which are still obviously underestimated, in our view, remains strong in public production. Such elements are manifested in a variety of ways. For example, the most promising forms of specialization (item, technological, regional), which offer the greatest opportunities for the utilization of the achievements of contemporary scientific and technical progress, are being developed with inadmissible slowness. General-purpose and single-item enterprises are still being reproduced on an expanded basis and continue to be built, while the establishment of production associations is taking place, as a rule, on a sectorial basis. The creation of large specialized enterprises servicing a number of sectors has not become suitably widespread.

Commodity-monetary relations are a historically repeatedly tried means of eliminating the barter-economic form of management. They must be actively used in this area under socialism as well. In this context, we believe, the following measures earmarked in recent decisions on economic problems are promising: reducing centralized commodity allocations and developing forms of distribution and trade based on long-term contractual relations and a multiple-channel wholesale trade; expanding the autonomy of associations in drafting their annual production program on the basis of the assignments of the 5-year plan and consumer orders; upgrading the role of direct long-term economic relations and long-term contracts as a means of planned distribution of material resources in the implementation of the 5-year plan and the utilization of such relations and contracts in formulating the plan for the next 5-year period; comprehensive application of the principle of total recovery of damages resulting from violations of contractual stipulations and equal responsibility of the parties.

Equalization in distribution relations, which showed a noticeable increase in the recent past, has become one of the main hindrances to economic growth. The redistribution of funds in favor of poorly working enterprises, equal pay for skilled and unskilled work and for more productive and less productive work have become the usual practice. The average wage of engineering and

technical personnel and workers in industry has become virtually the same (whereas in 1940 the correlation of average wages of such categories equaled 215 percent, it had dropped to 151 percent in 1960 and is currently on the 110 percent level). Equalization lowers the incentive for more productive work, preserves the existing production and consumption status and leads to stagnation. It "hits" above all workers who can give society a great deal but do not do so to the fullest extent precisely for the reason that their increased contribution to the overall results of labor activities is not reflected in a tangible and positive manner in their well-being. One of the consequences of equalization in distribution is a decline in the prestige of engineering work and the reduced incentive of engineers, who are the main bearers of scientific and technical progress in production.

As we know, in a bourgeois society unemployment is the most powerful means of disciplining the working people. By introducing the universal direct-socialized labor as a fundamental general-communist foundation, socialism guarantees the right to work. However, it is not able immediately to convert labor activeness into the prime vital need of the associated workers. Under such circumstances, material labor incentive becomes particularly important. In this case, in a certain sense the burden objectively assumed by such incentive turns out to be even greater than under capitalism, for it is not supplemented by unemployment. That is why incentive is given priority among the various functions included in the law of value under socialist conditions. Incentive supplements and strengthens the form specific to the socialist phase based on the economic law of distribution according to labor.

Let us particularly single out two other factors which call for intensifying the utilization of commodity-monetary relations.

The first is expanding the area of application of individual forms of labor activity. The simplistic interpretation of the concept of the total domination of public ownership of means of production under socialist conditions as being extended to virtually absolutely all realms of labor activity encouraged the nihilistic attitude toward any nonsocialized form of economic management, now condemned by the party. The experience acquired by the socialist countries reveals that even at quite high levels of development of socialism some areas and sectors (above all a number of sectors in agriculture and services) remain in which for a variety of reasons (which requires special studies) socialized forms of economic management are less sufficient than private ones. The use of the latter in such cases is entirely expedient and admissible. Naturally, this broadens the area of action of commodity-monetary relations and of the law of value.

The second, which is an essential component in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, is upgrading the efficiency of foreign economic relations (above all with the socialist countries). Increasingly applying such relations to the production area, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, presumes the establishment of direct relations on the enterprise level, granting enterprises the right to sell goods on foreign markets. This would entail corresponding changes in the economic mechanism.

The problem of the correlation between centralism and autonomy on different levels of planned economic management remains the main problem in the reorganization of the management system. The characteristics of the contemporary stage of development are the existence of the objective need for strengthening both principles--centralism and autonomy--on each level of economic management. Both needs (which, in our view, is particularly important to understand) are based on the same reasons.

Thus, on the one hand, production intensification calls for strengthening centralism, for it is only the latter which enables us to concentrate resources along decisive areas of scientific and technical progress and the development of areas which predetermines such progress, the overall aspect of the entire economy, and the elimination of bottlenecks.

The establishment of a single national economic complex, which objectively strengthens the primacy of the nationwide approach to all economic problems, and calls for the elimination of narrow departmental and parochial aspirations and for ensuring the mandatory nature of national economic management decisions, acts in the same direction.

Production intensification and the level reached in its socialization and the leading trends in its development also presume the development of initiative and responsibility on all levels of economic management and in all economic units. This is largely (although, naturally, not exclusively) related to upgrading the utilization of commodity-monetary relations. The conversion to the intensive type of expanded reproduction requires the increased autonomy of economic subdivisions, for the reason alone that the accent is shifted from the building of new enterprises to the better utilization of existing ones, the accelerated updating of the equipment and the reconstruction of operating production units.

The establishment of intersectorial, territorial-production and production complexes (on the basic unit level) substantially broadens the range and increases the significance of problems within the range of competence. The process of further democratization of the management of public production and the intensification of its self-managing principles, inherent in the accelerated development of socialism, also leads to broadening the initiative and responsibility of all economic units (beginning with the work place).

The approach to defining the correlation among the three relatively different sources of financing socialist expanded reproduction must be also specifically historical: the budget, the so-called enterprise (association) funds and credit. These sources are retained throughout the development stages of socialism. However, the specific correlation among them is determined by a number of objective circumstances and largely depends, in particular, on the predominating type of expanded reproduction. Under circumstances of intensification and increased autonomy of enterprises, the role of their own funds and credit can only increase. That is why the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum particularly emphasized the need "to expand increasingly" the principles of self-recovery and self-financing.

This trend is also consistent with the requirement of strengthening the unified national economic complex: the development of the latter increases the significance of the extradepartmental control we noted over the activities of individual economic units and, therefore, of the bank as an arm of this control. The intensified use of credit is one of the promising trends in combining the strengthening of centralism with the increased autonomy on all levels of economic management. Furthermore, credit has a major potential from the viewpoint of upgrading the efficiency of material incentives. Budget financing must be oriented above all toward the implementation of major programs carried out on a centralized basis.

Both trends (strengthening of centralism and expanding autonomy on all levels of economic management) in their organizational unity are leading and determine the "structural frame" of the radical reform in management. All other more specific elements of the latter stem directly from them. It is precisely thus that the question was formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Those who oppose, openly or covertly, expanded autonomy on all levels of economic management should bear in mind the following: the real power of centralism is determined not by the quantity of problems managed by the center but by their nature and degree of competence of management decision making. On the other hand, it must be made clear that there are problems in the economy which determine its overall condition and are basically insoluble on the level of the enterprise. That is what makes the problem of the objective limits of both autonomy and centralism so topical.

To sum it up, let us emphasize the following: socialist society has a vast arsenal of economic management methods, incomparably richer than bourgeois society. The general task in the management system is to learn how to apply efficiently and comprehensively the entire set of such methods without any kind of artificial "removal" of its fixed components. Only thus, to use Lenin's metaphor, could there be an economic "symphony" and not a "cacophony."

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MAJOR LINK OF RENOVATION. KOMMUNIST ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION AT THE NOVOLIPETSK METALLURGICAL COMBINE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 23-40

[Conclusion. Continued from KOMMUNIST No 11, 1986]

[Text] In the Language of Cost Accounting

V.A. Breus, combine deputy director in charge of economic affairs, candidate of economic sciences:

A sharp and difficult struggle between the new and the old is taking place under our very own eyes, in all areas of social life. The old has no intention whatsoever of surrendering its positions. For example, some legal documents which are currently applicable in the national economy and which relate not to ferrous metallurgy alone, are so remote from reality as occasionally to yield results opposite to their original intention. Thus, our fine for overexpenditure of material resources as compared to established standards is double the ordinary amount, while the fine for the utilization of resources for purposes for other than those specified is tripled. If, for example, the overexpenditure has taken place, which sometimes happens, for objective reasons and the collective has paid the proper fine, you may consider that for the remainder of the year the enterprise's economy is doomed. Such a "penalizing" approach to management deprives production collectives of the right to handle resources flexibly, without which no efficient and knowledgeable economic management is possible.

Today the combine is preparing to convert to self-financing, which is the next step in our economic experiment. We made a thorough study of the documents related to work under self-financing conditions at the Scientific-Production Association imeni Frunze in Sumy and at the Volga Automotive Plant. What is most noteworthy here? As in the past, these collectives are issued on a planned basis a large number of indicators, essentially as many as those issued enterprises which have not been converted to total cost accounting. The only essential feature here is that under the conditions of self-financing a standard method has been adopted for distribution of profits among the state, the ministry and the enterprise. However, this step has had no essential impact so far on the autonomy of the enterprise. The distribution of the share of the profit left to the enterprise according to the standard is

regulated by the superior organization which decides what percentage of the profit earned by the enterprise will go into the material incentive fund, the production development fund, the fund for sociocultural measures and housing construction and the combined fund for the development of science and technology. What kind of actual increase in the rights of the labor collective is there in this case? Therefore, in converting to self-financing the possibilities of the enterprise of actually handling its own resources must be significantly broadened.

How should this be expressed? Naturally, above all, by reducing the plan indicators for the mandatory implementation of which the collective must bear full cost accounting responsibility. I believe that planning in terms of physical indicators must be abolished, for today we have a comprehensive indicator such as the level of implementation of procurements. We should also eliminate planning in terms of comprehensive value indicators such as commodity output, for they encourage the enterprise to increase its "gross output," rather than to improve the qualitative characteristics of the metal and to increase variety. Under intensification conditions, profits and economic standards must become the main planning instruments. The profit distribution standards must remain fixed for the 5-year period. Furthermore, norms for the outlay of basic types of raw materials, materials and power resources, differentiated by individual year within the 5-year period, must be established. I anticipate the following question: How to balance the plan by abandoning its physical indicators and on the basis of profits alone? No one is preventing us from doing this by converting said indicators into plan computation indicators. Naturally, they should not be kept secret from the superior management authority. We shall submit our computations to the planning and economic management of the ministry and to our all-union industrial association which, in turn, will submit them to the Gosplan. Therefore, the majority of currently used physical and value indicators, which will inform the center about enterprise activities, will play their useful role but as computation indicators, i.e., indicators which the collective could amend and vary depending on changing circumstances and the problems created by reality. This will be a tremendous economic and moral factor of acceleration.

Actually, why are we currently planning a percentage of output bearing the state Emblem of Quality for the overall volume of output? In the past, when this indicator was asset-forming, this could be understood and somehow justified. But why now? Does this indicator have any kind of economic expediency? In the raw material sector, such as ferrous metallurgy, it would be hardly economical expediently to see to it that 100 percent of the entire output be of superior category. Quality involves additional manpower and material outlays which must be paid for by society. The consumer of superior quality output could, however, use it to manufacture a simple fence. I do not mean that we should not struggle for high quality of output. We should and we will! At this meeting Viktor Petrovich Kosyakov, senior attendant of Blast Furnace Shop No 1, accurately spoke of this matter. However, even the struggle for quality must have its own logic, dictated by the target and the choice of means for reaching it. Commodities must be certified only as required by the consumer.

Having considered the application of total cost accounting, we concluded that not only the material incentive fund but also the wage fund should be based on bigger profits. I am also convinced that all categories of working people, including the workers, should not be guaranteed wage rates and salaries. Both must be earned. Under the conditions of the Novolipetsk Combine, for example, the base (or planned) material incentive fund is substantially smaller than the wage fund. Frankly speaking, could the material incentive fund have a substantial impact on the behavior of the collective if nine-tenths of its wages are guaranteed by the state? Obviously, the time has come for people not to "receive" their money but to earn it. Conversion to such a system will radically change the attitude toward the work by all participants in public production, including management, allowing us to eliminate dependency, voluntarism and many other negative phenomena in our economic life.

In order for the principles of self-recovery to become firmly established in our economic practice, the price-setting procedure must be maximally simplified. The enterprise must be given the right to coordinate the price of its output with the consumers directly, without middlemen. The current procedure for setting and approving prices and technical specifications for new commodities is excessively long and extremely bureaucratized, for which reason it frequently hinders the satisfaction of consumer demand. We should not fear its elimination. Fear of economic autonomy granted a contemporary socialist enterprise exists only in the bureaucratic mind. The time has come to trust and have faith in us, for we too favor a statesmanlike approach to the solution of crucial problems!

F.A. Prokopenko, senior rolling-press operator, Sheet-Rolling Shop No 2:

I believe that cost accounting in production would display its true power only when it becomes total and real such as, for example, the "cost accounting" of my family budget, in which all income and expenditures go in and out of the same basket and each ruble has its specific purpose. In my view, it is too early to speak of total cost accounting in our shop and combine. Naturally, the brigade method contributes a great deal in teaching the people the principles of a proprietary attitude toward the work. However, in the brigade forms of labor organization and wages, which are cost accounting forms by their very nature, we apply with extreme timidity the incentive of the justly earned and justly distributed ruble.

Let us consider the labor participation coefficient on the basis of which the brigade council allocates worker bonuses. A great deal of enthusiasm was shown for the KTU and it was described as just about a guarantee against all shortcomings in wages. Yet the efficiency of this coefficient remains quite low for the time being although it could and should be significantly higher. We must consider the possibility that the brigade council distribute not only bonuses but wages on the basis of the KTU. This will give the workers' collective a really strong lever for upgrading labor productivity, strengthening discipline and enhancing professional skills. Naturally, the guaranteed wage rates and skill grades should be taken into consideration, otherwise the people would lose interest in their professional growth. However, here as well the brigade council could demote a worker in grade for a period of 2 to 3 months for gross errors (breakdowns, mass rejects, etc.).

Or else, let us consider the question of material compensation for doing the work with fewer workers than planned, which is known as "understaffing." According to the existing procedure, we have the right to earn no more than 20 percent of the saved wage fund per vacancy or per reduced personnel unit. Understandably, this incentive is not all that effective. In our shop, for example, the situation with crane operators and metal cutters is simply disastrous. These people are always scarce and those who work in the brigade with dedication compensate for the manpower scarcity. Why should we not encourage their contribution to collective labor results properly? We all fear that earnings may exceed some kind of ceiling... In our view, however, the approach to such situations should be entirely just: if you work for three people you should receive three salaries. Our brigade council includes the foreman, the party group organizer and trade union activists, so that we do not have to fear that its decisions will not be substantiated.

Let me also mention that the documents which determine the way our bonus system operates are quite complex and sometimes confusing. One is frightened looking at this paper covered with charts. In our view, wage and bonus standards must be presented clearly and simply. As far as making accurate computations are concerned, a good brigade organization of labor today requires much more urgently power meters and many other measuring tools in order to be able to determine production outlays. The scarcity or total lack of such instruments was discussed here by Viktor Petrovich Kosyakov, from Blast Furnace Shop No 1. It is only thus that we shall learn how accurately to compute all outlays and results, at which point cost accounting in the brigade will not remain on paper but will be based on real actions.

#### The Simple Facts:

In 1985 the entire increase in the volume of output at the combine was the result of higher labor productivity.

At the present time the brigades here number about 25,000 members or 85.3 percent of the total number of workers. The labor participation coefficient of more than 19,000 (76.3 percent) is taken into consideration in the distribution of bonuses. Sixty comprehensive brigades, totaling about 9,000 people, or 36 percent of the number of brigade members, are working on a cost accounting basis at the enterprise.

The most characteristic complaints of the enterprise addressed at the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy are: constant amendments of already established production plans, additional assignments without allocation of required resources, lack of stable plans backed by the necessary resources (5-year and annual) for capital construction (29 different major projects were built during the 5-year period and more than 700 million rubles' worth of capital investments were spent on industrial projects). These reasons greatly account for the stress in material and technical supplies, the amount of fines for production shortfalls, the existence of above-norm raw material reserves and uninstalled equipment, including imported machinery.

Annual losses in the sector are about 300 million rubles.

Based on the results of an investigation conducted by the sectorial Central Institute for Upgrading the Skill of Leading Personnel and Specialists, only 10 to 15 percent of shop chiefs and their deputies, who are sent to training, have any idea of most important indicators such as production costs, profitability and capital returns.

G. Kh. Popov, head of the department of organization and methods of public production management, department of economics, Moscow State University, doctor of economic sciences:

We have become accustomed to hearing the good and entirely accurate statements on the initiative of the Sumy Association or the VAZ in the area of new forms of cost accounting. The very words of "search" and "initiative," unfortunately sometimes create the impression that the new forms of cost accounting are something which could be either applied or ignored. Yet, as codified in the new draft of the CPSU program, it is a question of an objectively necessary, inevitable forthcoming stage in the development of cost accounting in the course of perfecting socialist production relations. The requirements of total cost accounting, I believe, must be implemented this very 5-year period, in order to attain the planned pace of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

What is the nature of the objective need for conversion to total cost accounting? Above all, it is related to the increased scale of output. Naturally, this is true. Quantitative changes in the national economy lead to the type of qualitative leap in which the new scale simply no longer permits old-style management, formulating or reformulating from a single center the numerous parameters governing the internal life of the enterprise. Nevertheless, this transition is dictated essentially by factors of a scientific and technical, economic and social nature. They are organically related to the characteristics of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and the nature of socialism as a new social system.

Better and more efficiently than even the most decisive appeals and strictest orders, cost accounting helps to optimize the economic behavior of enterprises and associations from the point of view of the interest of society as a whole. Let us take as an example the reconstruction of existing enterprises which, at the current stage of development, frequently proves to be more profitable to the national economy than building new plants. Obviously, the choice of the most efficient, most sensible way of reconstructing one's production can be made by the enterprise or association itself, but only if it is economically interested in finding efficient solutions and if it is granted the necessary rights and resources to this effect and freed from petty supervision.

The reasons which motivate the fastest conversion to total cost accounting are related to the fact that our contemporary economy, in implementing the stipulations of its basic law, sets itself the task of meeting the needs of the working people as an immediate and daily assignment. These requirements, under the conditions of commodity-monetary relations and distribution according to labor, operate in the form of demand. It is obvious that the consideration of this extremely varied and exceptionally flexible demand can be handled by the central authorities only on a general basis, only as a

reflection of the leading trends in this development. Specifically, the entire variety of demand can and must be considered by the producers themselves, above through a system of direct ties with trade. Consequently, we need the type of cost accounting which will clearly and efficiently direct the enterprises toward producing that which is needed by the consumers and would inevitably penalize the production of poor, defective or obsolete goods, thus preventing both excessive stockpiling and scarcity, which are organically related to it.

The nature of socialism demands of society to pay for the end results of specific labor. Such real results can be considered and measured with satisfactory accuracy by the labor collectives themselves. The currently used numerous wage systems and forms of bonuses, maximally regulated by superior authorities, not only do not contribute but most frequently hinder the systematic implementation of the socialist principle of payment according to labor: by removing themselves from the specific labor results, they increase injustice and equalization. We need the type of cost accounting which would ensure paying the worker the bulk of his earnings based on his individual labor contribution. To accomplish this, the wage fund of the entire collective must depend on the results of activities. From a planned mandatory indicator, the wage fund must become a cost accounting result of the work of the collective. Naturally, the socialist society must have guaranteed forms of wages. However, their percentage must be entirely different from what it is today. The main part of the wage, I repeat, must be earned. It is only such a procedure that can become the material foundation for the systematic implementation of the principle of social justice. It is only with total cost accounting that material incentive can become an efficient tool in the struggle for increased labor productivity and production efficiency. That is the area in which practical and production workers are conducting their search, as confirmed by the address by Valentin Andreyevich Breus.

Finally, we must emphasize the significance of social factors. Today we can and must increase our concern for the people. We must allocate more resources for such purposes. As in the past, some of them will be obtained through centralized channels. However, the ever growing share of such resources should be used on a decentralized basis, through the local authorities and the enterprises themselves. It is precisely in the local areas that the priority and gravity of one social problem or another and the readiness of the working people to solve it can be determined most accurately. Equally important is something else: the amount of local social development funds must be related to the specific achievements of collectives. Those who work better should earn more. This will increase the orientation of collectives toward upgrading production efficiency. The use of total cost accounting, consequently, is dictated by the requirements of both economic and social progress.

The development of our society at the present stage has made total cost accounting not only necessary but also possible. This is related to the fact that specific territorial-sectorial production-economic complexes have been established in the national economy in the guise of large enterprises and associations employing tens of thousands of workers, closely integrated with scientific and design-engineering organizations and merging their activities with the territorial infrastructure. In my view, a number of distinguishing

features of such a complex may be found at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine. Such complexes have all opportunities, no longer on the basis of local but of national viewpoints, to think in categories of the entire economy and the entire society and to choose the optimal variants of scientific and technical progress and social development.

N.F. Sakir, combine deputy director in charge of marketing:

Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov spoke here of the strategic trends and prospects in the development of cost accounting. For my part, I would like to mention the actual situation of our enterprise in terms of material and technical procurements, and what, in my view, hinders the strengthening of cost accounting principles.

One such hindrance, above all, is the existence in the national economy of three methods for the distribution of material and technical resources by those who allocate them: the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab and the ministries. Furthermore, a considerable part of the output is not distributed by anyone and comes along so-called direct channels. This leads to the fact that responsibility for meeting the specific needs of enterprises and organizations becomes depersonalized and, essentially, disappears totally.

Once the national economic plan has been approved, the USSR Gosplan virtually never goes back to problems of balancing the production plan for the current year with material and technical resources. Obviously, nor is this its function. Current problems of material and technical supplies, related to refining the assignments drafted by the USSR Gosplan must be solved by the USSR Gossnab. In practice, however, the Gossnab is limited to the insignificant amount of reserves it is allocated.

The USSR Gossnab allocations of goods for intrasectorial consumption substantially complicate planning by the USSR Gosplan on all levels of the national economy. For example, ferrous metallurgy uses annually about 40 million tons of various types of rolled metal for the production of pipes and other metal goods; more than 90 percent of the pig iron, steel and other materials are produced by the sector itself. Such planning, which makes necessary the drafting of a huge number of documents, furthermore frequently fails to meet the needs of the consumers for specific varieties of such items. The result is that frequently immediately after the approval of the plan enterprises and associations start seeking ways to substitute the goods they must produce. Furthermore, the economical utilization of material resources is not encouraged, for such resources have already been assigned to them and they must be used in order not to lose the "base" which is applied in determining the needs of the enterprise for the following year.

Why is it that drastic disproportions arise in the planned allocation of resources? Why is that, year after year, some consumers are short of some items while others have everything necessary and more? The answer, I believe, can be only one: the fault for this situation is that of the bureaucratized nature of the management of material and technical procurements. Actually, how can requests drafted long before the start of the planned period be exactly consistent with the real needs for one commodity or another,

particularly under circumstances in which the scale of renovation of produced goods and of technical retooling of production facilities is increasing?

How is the enterprise to meet the need for a specific commodity, a need which appears in the course of the year as a result of updating the equipment or perfecting a technology, if the entire volume of output has already been allocated among consumers long before that? It may be possible to find the necessary materials at the neighboring enterprise and to trade materials on mutually profitable conditions. In each such case, however, we come across prohibitions. Naturally, the lack of confidence in the timely and full material and technical availability of supplies forces consumers to hoard reserves, just in case, for the sake of insuring themselves against the danger of stopping production. Furthermore, as a rule, the deliver of goods, the shipping norms, combined with an underdeveloped warehousing supply method, force the economic managers to order items in unnecessarily great amounts. We are being criticized and fined for above norm stocks. The economic reality, however, is such that even the most enlightened and conscientious procurement workers engage in "hoarding."

Briefly stated, under the conditions of the expanded rights and increased responsibility of enterprises for the end results of economic management, many aspects of the organization of material and technical supplies turn into hindrances in an important matter such as the conservation of resources. The task is to give the enterprises standards which would economically stimulate thrift. As to the current penalties for the overexpenditure of resources and the annual assignments on an average reduction of their outlay, such steps, as practical experience indicates, motivate the enterprises not to proclaim it but nevertheless artificially to increase the norms.

V.P. Yefimov, deputy director, Scientific Research Institute of Economics and Organization of Material and Technical Supplies, USSR Gosnab, doctor of economic sciences:

The country's national economy has entered a period of development in which the most important thing is not the quantity but the quality of output. Today the question is how, in what way, with the least possible outlays, to meet growing social requirements. Consequently, it is necessary to formulate and include within the system of economic work an anti-outlay mechanism. For example, every year the Novolipetsk Combine produces 19 million tons of metal and more than 6 million tons of rolled metal items worth about 2 billion rubles. As we know, the task by the year 2000 is to lower metal-intensiveness in the national income by nearly one-half. This is the equivalent of building eight combines such as NIMK. What makes this even more important is that we would hardly be able to build that many metallurgical giants in the next 15 years. That is why today the center of gravity of the entire work shifts to harnessing the reserves for economical and efficient management. Recently an interdepartmental commission on economy and efficient utilization of material resources discussed the experience of the Kislorodmash Scientific-Production Association in Odessa. For more than 10 years this enterprise has been working without increasing the amount of metal used, although its volume of output has been increasing quite rapidly. What magic method was discovered by the Odessa machine builders? The method was reducing the metal-intensiveness



of its output. It is precisely this that enabled it to double its output without increasing its metal consumption.

We must acknowledge, however, that such examples are for the time being merely the pleasant exception of the general rule. Nikolay Fedorovich Sakir convincingly described the manner in which this rule operates in real economic life. However, we can no longer tolerate such a "rule." What are the main steps planned in this case?

The pivotal aspect of the restructuring of material and technical procurements is converting them into the type of flexible economic mechanism which would actually help the national economy to function on a rhythmical and stable basis. The USSR Gosplan assumes the direct task, on the one hand, actively to contribute to the establishment of the longest possible relations between producers and consumers on a contractual basis and to strengthen procurement discipline; on the other, to develop wholesale trade in means of production. It is precisely on this basis, as the new draft of the CPSU program emphasizes, that the reliability of economic relations can and must be increased and a dynamic consistency attained between supply and demand, resource turnover improved and convertibility of working capital accelerated. Such objectives cannot be achieved without making full use of commodity-monetary relations, in accordance with their new socialist content.

A decision of essential importance was made shortly after the 27th CPSU Congress, that of converting associations, enterprises and organizations of a number of ministries and departments to a system of material and technical supplies based on wholesale trade. Starting with next year, more than 10,000 enterprises, associations and organizations will adopt this system. The next step will be converting material and technical supplies in machine building to the new conditions. Therefore, the successful implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan greatly depends on the ability to organize wholesale trade in goods for industrial and technological use.

In our view, the main thing is to eliminate from the reorganization of material and technical supplies the bureaucratic encrustations which hinder the intersectorial turnover of resources which are manufactured as commodities but marketed as though they are not. Today this contradiction is being lifted. Essentially, supplying consumers with material resources, without funding or limits, based on their requests, and on the basis of contracts with the territorial authorities of the USSR Gosplan, creates conditions for the uninterrupted and rhythmical supplying of enterprises and organizations with goods in the necessary quantities and varieties and within deadlines which ensure the implementation of planned assignments.

Currently broadening the functions of the USSR Gosplan as the economic coordinator of all work in the national economy related to the conservation of resources is becoming organically linked with the development of wholesale trade. The recently passed CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on radical improvements in this work defined the main areas in the conservation of material resources, considered as the main links in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the development of the program-target method of managing resource conservation and the increased

influence of the economic mechanism on reducing material intensiveness of the national income.

The use of flexible forms of material and technical procurements in the new economic mechanism, based on wholesale trade and cost accounting, means that relations among enterprises and associations will be in the nature of a reliable partnership, making stock hoarding unnecessary and efficiently solving the difficult problem of reconstructing the production process, updating equipment and mastering new technology. The endless breakdowns in supplies, which caused mistrust in the supply system year after year and created artificial shortages, and the need for pushers will become part of the past the faster and the more irreversibly the more energetically we undertake the radical restructuring of this most important area of our national economy.

O.M. Yun, deputy chief, department of perfecting planning and economic incentive, USSR Gosplan, candidate of economic sciences:

As we know, the USSR Gosplan links production with consumption by drawing up 400 material balances for the 5-year plan and 2,000 for the annual plan. In the ministries, the variety of goods produced and allocated is broken down into as many as 50,000 items. As the USSR Gosplan authorities assign suppliers to consumers, the variety is increased even further by a factor of 10-15. The national economy produces 24 million different types of industrial and agricultural commodities. Understandably, truly balancing production with consumption within this economic "galaxy" is impossible without the comprehensive use of cost accounting principles which must become the base for a self-regulating system within the economic mechanism.

Currently the reorganization of the economic mechanism is becoming one of the basic functions of centralized management and it is by no means accidental that in the latest most important party documents special sections deal with perfecting economic management. As one may note, the very structure of centralized planned management is changing. It is becoming increasingly oriented toward the search for efficient means of influencing ministries and enterprises through the rejection of petty supervision within which, as was justifiably pointed out here, the very concept of management disappears. It is true that each development has its own logic and if today there are hundreds of plan indicators operating on the enterprise level, the reason is, above all, that so far the economic management lacked a mechanism of direct long-term relations between producers and consumers; the central economic departments had to deal with a number of details, down to the "individual bolt." By developing a system of direct relations among enterprises, as demanded by the 27th Party Congress, the control-dispatching function of the central authorities concerning relations among such enterprises will become unnecessary.

Naturally, this problem is quite relevant in the case of the Novolipetsk Combine, which has more than 8,000 customers and several thousand suppliers with many of whom the metallurgical workers have long maintained steady relations. It is obvious that in the currently developing economic management conditions it is unnecessary to review every year the structure of such relations and dictate from above a number of indicators. It is much more

important for the "center" to concentrate on long-term problems of development of the national economic complex.

Contractual relations between producers and consumers do not apply to commodity procurements alone. They also presume joint efforts aimed at upgrading production quality and reducing production outlays in both. In such a case a contract becomes a form of real and voluntary unification of enterprises engaged in the joint solution of scientific and technical, production and economic or social problems on an extradepartmental basis. Here as well the supreme authority is that of the labor collectives operating on a cost accounting basis. Let me draw attention to two main aspects which arise in this connection. First, as production relations among enterprises change, they must amend the organizational structure of their managements. Second, the increased economic independence and responsibility of enterprises require that we refine the functions of ministries and departments.

[Editorial note] The economic mechanism must be improved steadily. This is basic to management science. Now, as we know, the situation is such that we cannot limit ourselves to partial improvements. A radical economic reform is necessary. This was indicated at the 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 Central Committee Plenum. This was also discussed by the participants in the round-table meeting. One of the main trends in restructuring the economic mechanism, formulated by the party, is the task of decisively increasing the autonomy of associations and enterprises and broadening their responsibility for achieving the highest possible end results in their work. The high road to the implementation of this objective is the introduction of real cost accounting, self-recovery and self-financing in the main unit of our economy, and establishing a direct correlation between the level of income of the collectives and the efficiency of their production activities. The practical experience of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine indicates that progress along this way is difficult and conflicting.

In real life, as the round-table discussion proved, a clash between the two trends is quite clear. First, the objective aspiration of enterprises to apply cost accounting principles from top to bottom and the willingness and readiness of the labor collective to link more firmly and closely its interests with those of the sector and the state as a whole. Second, the set of obsolete but nevertheless retained traditions of bureaucratic centralization of enterprise economic life, which has become today the main obstacle in the implementation of the steps earmarked by the 27th CPSU Congress in the economic area, is quite apparent. What is the item on the agenda? The participants in the meeting unanimously spoke out in favor of energetic steps aimed at comprehensively strengthening and developing cost accounting principles in the management of public production and removing bureaucratic scabs from economic practice. This demands operational scope. Many of the elements of the new economic mechanism have already been tried and, as was noted at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, must be more daringly applied in actual economic life, along the entire front of the work.

## The Ministry: the Old and the New

G.Kh. Popov:

Sectorial management is an objective phenomenon which can neither be abolished nor eliminated arbitrarily. The need for it is obvious. In my view, therefore, we can and must discuss the nature of the sectorial ministry, the range of its rights and obligations and the efficient "scale" of the sector.

The reorganization of the economic mechanism and the conversion to total cost accounting inevitably raised the question of the radical reorganization of sectorial ministries. What should their work be and what should they manage? What should their apparatus become under the new conditions in terms of its structure, size, cadres, wages and incentives? These are problems which demand the fastest possible solution.

I will try, albeit briefly, to indicate the most essential features of the reorganization of sectorial management. Above all, it must be assumed that as a conversion to total cost accounting takes place, the ministries will lose nine-tenths of their present functions, for the establishment of 5-year assignments and standards for plants and associations operating on a total cost accounting will no longer demand so much time and efforts of the apparatus.

What should a ministry, deprived of the possibility of exerting petty supervision over enterprises, do? That which ideally it should be doing already now but which it does not: work on scientific and technical progress in the sector, its pace, problems of production quality, and optimizing resource outlays on the scale of the sector. If, as was pointed out here, in virtually all enterprises in ferrous metallurgy the quality of refractory materials is much worse than that of imported ones, it should be the task of the ministry to solve this problem and to draft a respective general sectorial program.

Another important area of its activities should be control over the course of the work in the sector as a whole and the elimination of developing disproportions, as is the case in metallurgy, for example, between the volumes of iron ore, coke, pig iron, steel and rolled metal, and thorough planning of production assignments for individual items by enterprises. At that point we shall obviously be able to eliminate annoying cases of different composition of procurements, which damage specialized equipment, of which the Lipetsk metallurgical workers complained.

How will the ministry manage the work of the sector under the new conditions? Through economic methods, by materially interesting the enterprises in fulfilling general sectorial programs. If the ministry tries to retain the right to any kind of administrative interference without any responsibility whatsoever for the consequences, unquestionably the principle of total cost accounting will be violated. Finally, a word on changes in the structure of the ministry's apparatus. Naturally, the elimination of daily dispatcher management methods will require a drastic reduction in the size of the managerial personnel on the primary and secondary levels. It would be

expedient, I believe, to create on the basis of such wage savings, a small body of highly skilled and adequately paid specialists who could formulate and solve general sectorial problems. In this case it would be extremely important to apply a system of salaries based on end labor results to such personnel as well, so that their material well-being become directly dependent on the level of efficiency of organizational, scientific and technical and socioeconomic measures carried out in the sector. In this connection, it would make sense to make a fuller study, critical naturally, of the work of managements of large corporations abroad.

#### The Simple Facts:

The number of orders, instructions and resolutions issued to the administration of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine increased even further in 1985. The number of documents received from outside agencies amounted to several tens of thousands of copies.

Despite continuing current control exercised by the ministry over the economic activities of enterprises, many of them find themselves in a difficult financial situation. Last year the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy lost working capital totaling 240 million rubles. Payments to the budget fell short 293 million rubles. The financial condition of the enterprises is greatly worsened by above-plan stocks of commodity-material values, despite abundant instructions on their reduction. At the beginning of 1986 such stocks exceeded the planned figure by 485 million rubles, or 8.6 percent. They are essentially concentrated at the enterprises of Soyuzmetallurgprom, Soyuzspetsstal and Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy.

The reorganization of economic activities in the sector raises particular requirements concerning the level of cadre economic training. The ministry has drafted a program for the radical restructuring of economic work in the sector and is preparing to certify the personnel of the respective VPO and management services. Deputy enterprise directors in charge of marketing-financial affairs and economics are undergoing the certification process.

R.Ya. Gugnyak, chief of the planning-economic administration, USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy:

A number of crucial problems have developed in the area of sectorial management. I shall discuss those which are more directly related to my area of work. In my view, the creation of an anti-outlay mechanism is of prime importance to us. Speaking frankly, we should admit that the current system for assessing the results of work in the sector, using volume indicators, makes it necessary totally to abolish the essentially cost oriented mechanism of economic management. In order to increase the volume of output of metal in monetary terms and, therefore, to improve labor productivity indicators, it would suffice to add alloys to any grade of steel to make it more expensive. This is virtually effortless. How can we counter the inertia of the notorious "gross output" and inflated indicators? I am convinced that profit must become the main criterion in assessing the activities of any given enterprise.

Our estimates indicate that starting with next January, the entire sector could use the profit indicator as a base. We also suggest a sectorial economic experiment to be undertaken at some enterprises, including the NLMK, which would make wage increases directly related to profits. The principle in this case is extremely simple: earn according to output. To this purpose, we shall determine the condition of the wage fund today based on operating capacities. Additions to the wage fund will be made with newly installed equipment. Already installed equipment, however, must mandatorily be profitable. Part of the profit will go to the state and the rest will be kept by the enterprise. What we must seriously think about, however, with the help of academic science, is the development of a methodology for the distribution of the additional social product which will be generated. In our case this problem is particularly important, for outlays for mining extraction operations will be inevitably increasing in ferrous metallurgy. This is a specific feature of all extracting sectors. That is why we are extremely interested in setting scientific standards for withholding additional profits for the state.

I believe that we should not limit our discussion on the use of total cost accounting to the enterprise alone. Today sectors, such as ferrous metallurgy have become maximally consolidated and monopolized even in the capitalist world, where big concerns and multinational corporations operate. In speaking of individual enterprise cost accounting we seem to ignore the fact that in this case it would be extremely difficult to avoid fluctuations in the economic indicators of its work for the duration of the planned period. Their stability can be significantly improved on the sectorial level. In our view, therefore, it would be preferable to consider conversion to cost accounting not of the individual enterprises and associations but of the sector as a whole, as one of the structural subdivisions of the national economy.

Naturally, the question of giving full rights to enterprises is impossible without increasing the rights of sectors and sectorial ministries. What happens in practical terms? If the USSR Gosplan issues to the ministries the same hundreds of indicators which were sorrowfully mentioned by Valentin Andreyevich Breus, all the ministry would have to do is to issue the same indicators to the individual enterprises, for in addition to everything else there is such a thing as state discipline. The ministry's efforts somehow to normalize this problem have been reflected in repeated appeals to the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Council of Ministers to reduce the number of indicators.

Here is another important feature. Today the sector cannot use its above-plan output. Although our enterprises produce above-plan amounts of rolled metal, we have no right to use even a single ton as we wish. Yet granting us the right to do so would drastically increase the possibility of economic maneuvering. For example, let us say that it becomes necessary to speed up industrial and housing construction at the NLMK. We have 600,000 tons of above-plan rolled metal and had only 30 percent of it been left at the disposal of the ministry, our discussions with the construction workers would have been much more businesslike.

Let us say a few words on what is beyond the range of competence of the ministry. Today we are importing millions of tons of metal goods. I can

confidently say that such purchases would have been significantly reduced by making more efficient use of existing production facilities in the socialist countries. All of this proves that cooperation among our metal producing facilities should be increased. However, the solution of such problems today is entirely in the hands of foreign trade. A situation frequently arises in which control over supply and demand is artificially separated. If a Soviet foreign trade organization such as Promsyryeimport would subordinate no more than a certain percentage of its functions to the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, we would be able to supervise the type of ferrous metal goods it purchases and take timely measures to increase our capacities for the production of such items. This would also increase our responsibility for the implementation of the foreign exchange plan. The time has come to consider how to enhance the responsibility of the sector for totally supplying the national economy with metal and to consider assigning it some marketing functions. Perhaps we should study the experience of the fraternal countries, Bulgaria in particular, in which metal production, marketing and foreign trade are handled by a single organization.

I anticipate the charge of "monopolizing" the rights of the sector and a tendency toward separatism. But look at the number of organizations superior to the ministry with the right to issue directives and to dictate to it their will without essentially being responsible for anything. Consider the standards, for example. Virtually all of them stipulate which specific type of steel must be subjected to thermal processing and tempering, the type of chemical composition it must have and the type of elements it must include. Let us compare this with imported metals. All they include is the grade and mechanical properties. This is right, because it is sensible. A steel must possess specific properties and meet the various consumer requirements. Truthfully, no one should be concerned with the way the metallurgical workers will smelt it. Yet the excessively detailed technological stipulations in the standards, which the producer has no right to violate, necessitate the use of materials which are in very short supply but not absolutely necessary, and deprive the processes of metal manufacturing and consumption of the necessary flexibility in this matter. Standards must be changed. We must most daringly convert from the rigid state standards to standards for basic types of commodities. For example, the specific needs of the machine building industry will require some specifications concerning the basic types of metal and prices. Any change demanded by the consumer concerning the basic grade of steel could be agreed upon with the manufacturing enterprise. If the consumer does not need a higher grade steel we would avoid unnecessary expenditures, the cost of output would be lesser and the price would be lowered. Under such circumstances, according to our estimates, no more than 1,000 base prices would be necessary, whereas today there are thousands of different prices for metal items, making our price list quite confusing. It seems to me that both Gosstandart and the USSR State Committee for Prices should help us bring order in this matter.

I am convinced that the management structure must be reorganized. It must be reorganized from the bottom to the top, from the brigade to the highest echelons, including the Gosplan and the Gossnab. However, all the authors of the daring proposals submitted here on such a reorganization, including Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov, who set the tone for the discussion on possible

directions to be followed, would, I presume, agree with me that the solution to this problem should not be approached on the basis of the principle of destroying first and then thinking about it. Obviously, we must begin by giving it serious thought and then change matters.

O.M. Yun:

It is entirely clear that the problem of assigning the ministry new functions cannot be considered separately from the changes which are taking place in the basic production units--enterprises and associations. It is precisely here that the material values are created and all types of production and superstructural relations become integrated. For that reason, if nothing is changed here in all likelihood nothing will change on the higher level. The entire hope lies precisely in the fact that the enterprise operating under the new economic management conditions will exert steady pressure on the administrative structures from below, forcing them to assume the shape and nature consistent with contemporary requirements. We already had the sad experience of failed attempts to restructure economic management methods from above. The familiar 1979 decree on further perfecting the economic mechanism, on which we relied so heavily, was quite streamlined and logical. However, its implementation was undertaken through the ministries. And what happened? Nothing. The reason was that this document, as an integral system of change, did not reach down to the enterprise, with the exception of the indicator of standard net output, which became almost like the panacea for all our production difficulties and just about the main lever for perfecting economic management. What makes the current situation different? In my view, the fact that radical changes have been undertaken in the daily life of enterprises.

To begin with, enterprise activities are now assessed not on the basis of the fulfillment of the plan for variety but of the implementation of contracts for commodity procurements. This already is a direct orientation toward the consumer. In the past it was possible to fulfill the plan for variety of output by producing something entirely different from what the consumer needed. Today this becomes impossible. Slowly but steadily the level of the implementation of contracts in the national economy, in industry above all, is rising. This also proves that balancing public production on the level of specific requirements and products is improving as well.

Many production workers have noted that material and technical support of enterprises is improving. Is this change radical or is it not? I believe it is. If we convert entirely to long-term direct contracts this will mean a change in the system of indicators issued to individual economic units centralized from above. In the final account, all that will remain of the mandatory indicators will be those related to changes in the production structure, to scientific and technical progress above all.

Secondly, a conversion to a system of standards is taking place. I believe that this also indicates a radical turn in enterprise management. Now the number of their employees, the wage fund and the average wage will not be planned. All that will be set from above will be the economic standards according to which the enterprise must structure its activities and set up its own economic funds. It is true that the system of standards is still



insufficiently advanced. It contains a great deal of empirical features. For example, one cannot theoretically substantiate the reason for which the material incentive fund will be increased by 15 percent in the implementation of all contracts but reduced by 3 percent per each percentage point of nonfulfillment. When the conditions for the large-scale economic experiments were being formulated the average level of contractual implementation in industry was in the vicinity of 95 percent. The previous penalty--1 percent of the fund per 1 percent of nonfulfillment of contractual obligations--was ineffective. Penalties were tripled and, correspondingly, the standard increase in the material incentive fund of properly working collectives was raised to 15 percent. Naturally, no strictly scientific substantiation of these steps exists. This mechanism, however, is operating quite reliably. Incidentally, it is frequently suggested that the assessment of the level of contractual discipline be directly related to the reaction of the consumer to the manufactured items. Everyone perfectly knows, however, that in our country reciprocal claims are frequently dismissed by joint agreement between consumer and supplier. The popular principle of "you scratch my back and I scratch yours" is still dominating in the mentality of production workers and in economic practice. Therefore, the entire hope is now concentrated on the automatic mechanism of influence, which today urges the enterprise enhance the standard of implementation of economic contracts.

Today production workers look at the ministry with understandable concern: Will the standards and other economic management conditions be firm? Five years is a long time and a great deal could change during it. For example, the new economic management conditions stipulate that ministries and enterprises be informed of the material resources available for the next 5 years, for without this no direct relations can be established.

Nevertheless, so far discussions are continuing on the subject of this indicator and views are clashing. Some people claim that one cannot guarantee ceilings, for the 5-year period is not like a trip on a smooth road. The supporters of this viewpoint stress that deviations from the plan for the production of individual commodities frequently account for 5, 10 or even 15 percent of the output for the 5-year period. In such cases, where would the resources for the ceiling plan for the enterprise come from? Others claim that the 5-year plan is unstable precisely because the enterprise drafts it unaware of the amount of material resources it will receive during the planned period and that the plan is structured essentially on the basis of existing and currently installed production capacities, without a precise knowledge of the actual volume of resources allocated for its implementation. Therefore, the task is to observe the stipulated economic management conditions and truly to ensure the stability of production ratios, including standards.

For the time being, the standard governing the distribution of profits under the new conditions is limited to 1 year. This does not provide the enterprise with a major incentive in the struggle for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. It would be proper, therefore, in my view, to raise the question of converting to self-financing, which would also include the ministry. By 1990 less than half of the cost of technical retooling and production reconstruction in the national economy will come from the enterprise production development fund. The current level of self-financing

of such steps is slightly over 30 percent. The balance comes from centralized capital investments. This may mean that the more such capital investments are obtained by the enterprise the more it can lower production costs, upgrade labor productivity, increase the growth rates of output and improve all other fund-forming indicators, for which reason today there is increased demand for state subsidy. Self-financing means a radical turn in economic management, for all fund-forming indicators will come in this case out of funds earned by the enterprises or associations themselves. Naturally, this change creates a tremendous number of new problems.

If the enterprise must earn all the funds it needs and if the results of its economic activities will directly depend on the efforts of the entire collective, the demand for democratization of management will arise in its entire magnitude and the style of issuing management orders will become totally alien. We believe that it is no accident that the participants in our discussion spoke of the need to grant the labor collective the right independently to distribute the earned wages. Wages, however, are only the final form of manifestation of many other economic processes. Before a brigade or shop can independently allocate wages, it must assign the work, assess it fairly, secure proper resources for the implementation of assignments, etc. Essentially, the entire production cycle becomes involved in the process of development of self-management.

I was sincerely pleased by the fact that it is precisely the workers who were the first to mention in our round-table discussion the need to accelerate scientific and technical progress. This convincingly proves the maturity of the working people in the combine and their readiness to assume the reins of enterprise management in their hands: no one better than the worker knows what prevents him from doing good work. However, we must also realize that this is a difficult burden and that the collective must do a great deal more before it can successfully deal with it. For example, the level of rationalization work among the Lipetsk metallurgical workers is only slightly higher than that of the entire national economy. In our country some 5 percent of the working people deal with rationalization work, compared with some 8 percent in your plant. In Japan, for example, the so-called quality circles ensure the participation of the majority of the workers in rationalization activities. If we wish labor collectives actually to manage ever more actively the socialist enterprises, every worker must make his contribution to the technical retooling of the production process. We must not be frightened by the abundance of the problems, difficulties and contradictions which arise in this case. There will never be fewer and new ones will inevitably appear as we advance. Their elimination and solution is the natural way of dealing with them, it is the law of development.

V.I. Pankrushin, USSR deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy:

It seems to me that in seeking the reasons for one type of mess or another, we more frequently look at our neighbor than at ourselves. Yet the neighbor frequently has his own reasons for behaving one way or another, which we may not like but which are also justified. Therefore, I would like to consider relations between the ministry and the central economic bodies from the viewpoint, as the lawyers say, of presumption of innocence.

It was already noted here that the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy is in a difficult financial position. I mean by this that the sector did not fulfill last year's plan and that high standards are being set for the new 5-year period, for which reason it was decided to ask the USSR minister of finance to allocate additional funds. The request was firmly rejected. Discussions with the Gosplan, Gossnab and Stroybank yielded similar results. What to do? A study of the situation, indicated that, to begin with, we must mobilize the sector for efficient work and, secondly, try to sell surplus assets.

By the end of January our minister met with the chairman of the USSR Gossnab for the purpose, for the first time in the history of the sector, not to get but to give something, to give a great deal: material assets worth about 80 million rubles. The suggestion was enthusiastically accepted. Pleased by the outcome, we conducted a thorough inventory at the enterprises, down to surplus nails. But then several months passed and despite the favorable position taken by the Gossnab chairman and repeated conferences with his first deputy we were able to sell only 4 million rubles' worth out of the 80 million. We have no idea how the entire project will end. Clearly, under the existing circumstances it is just as difficult for the territorial agencies to get rid of their above-norm stocks as it is for us to get rid of ours.

However, it is impossible to understand the reasons for the adoption of regulations which govern economic practices, regardless of how much one may wish it. Let us take as an example the decree on double and triple penalties for material overruns and use for unscheduled purposes, which was mentioned here by Comrade Breus. The Gosplan and Gossnab personnel cannot fail to see or be aware of the fact that such steps literally wreck the economy of the enterprise. The legitimate question, therefore, is the following: Are we equal partners? Or is it that we have commodities on the one side and those who handle them, on the other; on the one hand only responsibilities and on the other only rights?

Our relations with the Ministry of Railways is a good case in point. Such relations cannot be considered normal, above all because one of the two opposite sides is also always the umpire. Actually, in the coordination of the main document regulating technological interaction between mainline and industrial transportation, and the YeTP plan (unified technological process of operations of access roadways and abutting stations), the final decision in disputes (which includes the time needed for freight car turnover) must be made personally by the minister of railways. Such decisions are frequently related to the need for significant capital investments or additional manpower and materials. For what reason? In order to reduce freight car idling. But what is the economic limit of such "economic arbitrariness" in terms of the economy? It has neither been substantiated nor established!

Capital investments in excess of 100 million rubles are necessary to reduce by 1 hour freight car turnover for the sector as a whole. What are the economic benefits to the national economy from this? There is no interdepartmental method for their assessment!

Here is another example. In order to meet the norms set by the Ministry of Railways on the idling of freight cars for the numerous small shops of

Soyuzvtorchermet, with a freight turnover of no more than five cars, where the round-the-clock work in loading or unloading the freight has been organized (where freight cars may be delivered unexpectedly), the wage fund must be increased by 12 million rubles while savings from freight car idling would be about 800,000 rubles. Yet the Ministry of Railways is unwilling to solve this specific problem from the viewpoint of national economic savings. From where it stands all it can see is 800,000 rubles. Let us not even mention the fact that most frequently the freight car/hours saved at such expense turn later into freight car idling but at the ministry's waiting stations.

Who has granted such rights to the minister of railways? No clear explanations exist or, in any case, we have not found a single one. We can only guess that for the time being, apparently, no alternative has been found to such a departmental approach to the problem. To this day no method has been approved, based on economic criteria (including cost per freight car/hour) for the protection of governmental interests.

The reorganization of the economy is, naturally, a very complex task. Practical experience indicates that it requires not only words but also actions. No disparity should exist between them.

[Editorial note] The interest with which the participants in the round-table meeting discussed problems related to perfecting sectorial management and refining ministerial functions is understandable. Under contemporary conditions this is a tremendous project in the area of economic management, initiated by the CPSU Central Committee. In the course of it, on the one hand, it is necessary firmly to strengthen the centralized principles in national economic management and enhance the organizing role which the USSR Gosplan and other central departments play in economic life; on the other, the rights and economic autonomy of enterprises and associations must be comprehensively broadened; their cost accounting responsibility for the results of their activities must be enhanced. As one can easily understand, the implementation of these tasks is the key to the successful fulfillment of the 12th 5-Year Plan and a prerequisite for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. However, as was most openly discussed at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the reorganization of management, based on the systematic implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, is not taking place as rapidly and successfully as is necessary in the interest of the project.

As the discussion clearly indicated, the experience of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine proves that the initiated reorganization affects all of the more serious and essential aspects of relations between enterprise and ministry. Nevertheless, such relations are greatly influenced by the effect of facts which belong to the past. Bureaucratic regulation of the many-faceted life of the labor collective is continuing. Nor has the ministry abandoned the habit of solving difficult problems by giving orders unsupported by economic steps. The participants in the discussion reached the conclusion that the reason for this is largely found in the current lack of organization in relations between the ministry and the central economic departments, the Gosplan and Gossnab above all. One cannot fail to note that on the enterprise level a great deal of what needs the soonest possible reorganization on the

sectorial level and on the level of the national economic complex as a whole is reflected as in a mirror. Reliance on economic standards, prices and credit as the most important instruments of the state plan, inherent in socialist economic management, "cleansing" the plan for the diktat of "gross output" and volume indicators and the rejection of the illusion that all parameters of economic life without exception can be controlled from the center are the components for the reorganization of management, which were the first and most frequently listed in the course of the meeting. The Lipetsk metallurgical workers and, with them, the other labor collectives in the country are able, willing and obligated to work today better than yesterday and tomorrow better than today.

### Facing the People and the Project

V.N. Markov, first secretary of the Lipetsk CPSU Gorkom:

It was accurately pointed out at the very beginning of our meeting that we shall be able successfully to implement the strategy of acceleration only through the comprehensive use of all of its components. Naturally, we cannot ignore the most important factor of acceleration, such as perfecting the activities of party organizations on all levels, the primary above all.

Occasionally the feeling expressed in the press and in meetings with party organization comrades is that all that was done before the congress is now old and obsolete. We must absolutely seek the new. I believe that such innovation, if one may call it such, could cause most serious harm to the project. Naturally, we must persistently promote a renovation of style and forms and methods of party work. However, many of its forms, which have been tested by life, must not be rejected. Naturally, they must be cleansed from formalism and from excessive organization, after which they can successfully help us to solve the new problems. We must abandon that which has been rejected by practical experience itself as a bureaucratic fantasy, that which creates merely the appearance of work.

In the course of yesterday's discussion with the Moscow participants of our round-table meeting, Yuriy Alekseyevich Manayenkov, obkom first secretary, noted that in the past 2-2.5 years the oblast party organization has tried firmly to steer a course toward specific practical action, toward upgrading the responsibility of cadres, organization and discipline and waging an active and fierce struggle against negative phenomena and against all kinds of misuses and for the honest and pure image of the party member, the leader in particular. We had to expel from the party some 300 members, including six high-level managers. Thirteen other managers, party members, were taken strictly to task by the party and relieved from their positions. Naturally, these are bitter losses, but when it becomes a question of eliminating negative phenomena, which took years to develop, they become inevitable.

Efficient methods, such as talks with party members and reports by them to their fellow-organization members and to superior party authorities have become an established part of the work of our organizations. Last year, for example, the chairman of the executive committee of the Lipetsk City Soviet of People's Deputies submitted a report to the party gorkom plenum. In truly

enhancing the responsibility of cadres we have become much more intolerant of phenomena, such as meaningless meetings, the mania of submitting and exaggerated enthusiasms.

Unfortunately, not all of our primary party organizations have become able to make a principle-minded assessment of the crucial tasks involved in their activities, their work shortcomings and, particularly, their specific perpetrators. It is no accident that as many as 30 percent of the decisions made by primary party organizations must be corrected by the party raykoms and gorkom because of this.

Not everything with the development of criticism and self-criticism is as it should be. Two weeks ago, for example, the party gorkom buro was forced to take strictly to task members of the primary party organization of the oblast trade unions council for gross suppression of criticism.

We have also taken some practical steps to enhance openness in party work. Today, for example, the working people are extensively informed of the activities of the city party committee through the oblast newspaper LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, our local press and the special permanent information groups set up by the gorkom. In its own METALLURG, the NIMK party committee has a section which regularly and promptly informs the party members of discussions of problems, in which anyone can take part.

Ideological work is currently the weakest link in the comprehensive activities of party organizations and committees, needing close attention. It is here that we find a particularly great number of extraneous elements of excessive organization. Such work is also overburdened by mass projects. Naturally, such projects are needed, although they must not overshadow or push back the plan for individual educational work with the people. However, it is precisely the specific individual that we frequently fail to reach. Many party committees are still talking to the people across the table of the presidium, avoiding the direct and frank discussion with the working people of the crucial problems of life. They fear and avoid polemics. Our ideological work lacks aggressiveness. We are also influenced by the fact that for a long time, in the course of our educational activities, we kept reminding people primarily of their rights but were embarrassed to mention and spoke unjustifiably quietly and timidly about their obligations to society. Socialism, however, has nothing in common with philanthropy. It is a society of labor. Our main task is to upgrade the constructive potential of each labor collective and individual worker. We can solve this problem only if we see on each separate occasion in front of us not people in general but specific individuals with their real interests and needs and unique individuality.

#### The Simple Facts:

The primary party organization at the Novolipetsk Combine has more than 5,000 members. Eight new shop party organizations and 15 party groups were set up in the past few years. In the past 2 years alone various aspects of the activities of 43 party organizations were discussed at party committee sessions.

In the course of the biannual accountability period, the combine's party committee considered 165 membership cases, expelled 56 members from the CPSU and dropped 21 party members for failure to pay membership dues and being out of touch with the organization. Eighteen candidate party members were refused full membership for failure to complete their probationary period.

The combine's party organizations include 126 commissions for controlling the economic activities of the administration; 22 of them deal with problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

The people's controllers aktiv at the NIMK numbers more than 4,000 people, one-third of whom are party members.

In recent months the management of 11 administrations has been strengthened within the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy; some 40 new managers, their deputies and chief specialists have been appointed. All of them have great practical experience in production work.

Together with the oblast and city party committees, the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy has drafted steps aimed at normalizing the activities of lagging enterprises. Brigades of the most skilled sectorial specialists, ministry managers and administration chiefs visit the labor collectives. Thirty-four new directors and 26 chief engineers have been appointed to strengthen enterprise managements.

A.Ya. Nenakhov, party group organizer, master mechanic, Oxygen Converter Shop No 1:

Our party group consists of 18 members who work in all sections of the shop's machine services. I can confidently say that the members of the party group are in the very thick of shop life. In recent years the shop has had several reconstructions, which nearly doubled its planned capacity. The party members participated most actively in this project. Today our collective has the task of drastically upgrading the quality of the steel it produces. The members of the party group have undertaken the fastest possible replacement of ordinary converters with converters with combined blast cleaning. However, the question of designing and manufacturing equipment for such conversion is not being solved by the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building. Such equipment has not been included in its production plan for the 12th 5-year period, although requests and initial requirements were approved as early as last September.

By actively participating in the discussion of plans for new equipment in the various services and formulating the necessary assignments and requests, we try to see to it that the technical reconstruction of the shop is comprehensive, for which reason we suggest that in addition to the basic, the auxiliary equipment be replaced as well, for its condition substantially determines the quantity and quality of the smelted metal. The work of the shop is adversely affected by various difficulties in spare part procurements. That is why our party group persistently raises the question of the reconstruction of the group of machine shops in which new highly productive machine tools and mechanisms must be installed and of increasing the shift

coefficient of equipment in the machine shops. We are also considering how to make such equipment less metal- and energy-intensive and easier to service and repair. We constantly discuss this with the manufacturers of such equipment when it is ordered and when design specifications are being submitted.

In order for the human factor to be substantially enhanced we must totally eliminate wage equalization and see to it that everyone become interested in upgrading his professional skills. However, the wage rates used in our service do not meet this requirement entirely. Thus, although the repair personnel have a six-grade scale, most of the workers are grade five while grade six is given to the brigade leader. According to the party members of our group, it would be expedient for our ministry either to increase the number of grades or to introduce subgrades within each grade. In order for labor productivity to grow faster, I believe that wage supplements for the combination of skills and for completing the work with fewer people should be used more flexibly. All of this will also help in the education of the people, which is an area of the work untouched as yet. In our service as well there still are cases of gross violations of labor and production discipline, so that a great deal remains to be done for every member of the party group, every worker to become imbued with the spirit of the changes initiated by the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

These changes have affected the life of our party group as well. The style of party meetings has changed radically. Now the most topical shop problems are discussed at such meetings. We do not hesitate to name openly, regardless of their position, the specific culprits for difficulties which arise in the work of the collective. On each occasion we try to formulate practical steps to improve the situation in one section or another. We also hold joint meetings with the personnel of related services in order to improve interaction. The party members have begun regularly to report to the party group. Today criticism and self-criticism are heard much more frequently and sharply in their addresses. The party group members systematically invite nonparty members to their meetings. Each party meeting begins with a report submitted by the party group organizer on the implementation of previously made decisions. Today the character references of any worker promoted to a leading position in our shop is discussed at an open party meeting. This procedure has enabled us greatly to improve cadre selection and placement in the shop.

We perfectly realize that all of this is merely the beginning and most of the work lies ahead. However, each passing day convinces us of the accuracy of the statement in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress, with which I would like to end my address: "If the party organization lives a rich life based on principle-minded relations, and if the party members are engaged in specific actions rather than in meaningless general talk success is ensured."

N.I. Trubnikova, deputy chief of administration for housing and communal facilities of the NLMK, in charge of educational work:

Today we frequently hear the following: this slogan or this form of ideological work has become obsolete. For some reason, I prick my ears every time I hear this. It seems to me that most frequently the reason for our



failures in ideological education lie elsewhere. It is not only and exclusively a matter of the natural and inevitable obsolescence of its forms but of the fact that we occasionally forget the essence of the matter, the political meaning of a specific measure. Naturally, we would like such a measure to be carried out properly and, therefore, for our reputation to be enhanced because of this. We become terribly concerned, for example, for Pioneers in a performance to be right of stage and the flowers left of stage.... However, in the whirlpool of such varied and seemingly necessary concerns, we occasionally forget that in terms of those same Pioneers and the other participants in such projects they must, above all, have a real meaning and that the educational impact of such a project is directly proportional to its meaningfulness. As it frequently happens, however, the meaningfulness is almost nil although all formal rules have been observed. The reason, it seems to me, is largely that the number of all sorts of projects which are mandatorily assumed today by the party organization and the variety of equally mandatory projects undertaken by the voluntary institutions guided by the party organization exceed all admissible levels.

Let me mention a recent problem. A Kristall Sobriety Club was organized at one of the men's dormitories for 170 people; 36 people joined. I asked them: "Why did you not join the temperance society? Its primary organizations have already been set up at the combine." "We see no point," they answered. Actually, the chairmen of many of our voluntary social organizations remember their existence and their own obligations when the 13th wage is paid and when it is the easiest to fulfill the plan for collecting membership dues.

As we know, the calm and psychological climate in a labor collective greatly depend also on the living conditions of the people. That is why it is so greatly important today to undertake the restructuring, the enhancement of educational and all other work at home. However, poor material facilities prevent real work.

The administration of housing and communal facilities in our combine operates on a planned loss basis. For many years the planned loss has remained unchanged: 3 million rubles. Subsidies, correspondingly, have not changed. Meanwhile, the number of housing facilities at the combine is increasing with every passing year and so are demands concerning work at home.

A plan to create cultural-sports centers in each residential microrayon has been drafted. The combine is already building some 20 small sports stadiums. Each one of them is sponsored by a shop. However, the letter issued by the Ministry of Finance, which regulates the procedure for financing the construction of such ministadiums was lost somewhere in the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy. Eventually, the letter will be found but meanwhile how are we to procure the necessary sporting equipment?

Each ZHEU has a room for school students which is financed from a 2 percent withholding from rental payments. Such payments, however, are symbolic. The result is that 14 of our rooms operate on an annual budget of 33,000 rubles. This is extremely little if we seriously consider the organization of the work of circles and their technical equipment.

The question has been raised of comprehensively improving the work of house committees. We consider them an entirely realistic force which will enable us to intensify the struggle against drunks and brawlers and for a truly socialist way of life and housing neatness. This requires the interested understanding and aid of all party organizations and committees.

A.I. Teplenichev, NIMK party committee secretary:

The strategy of acceleration, which is based on the acknowledgment of the decisive role of the human factor, demands of the party organizations particularly close attention to the selection and placement of leading cadres and their upbringing. Today every manager, whatever his position, must act with initiative. He must look ahead and daringly solve problems which only yesterday seemed insoluble.

It was emphasized at our meeting that the economic manager has been granted today a great number of rights; some leading combine workers were even blamed for their inability to use them properly. Allow me to disagree with this view, for so far the activities of economic managers, particularly shop chiefs, have been restricted by all sorts of instructions and prescriptions. It is too early to speak of real autonomy. Unfortunately, however, we can speak of the fact that petty supervision is still preventing our economic cadres from solving problems of acceleration efficiently and fruitfully.

Therefore, we consider it our task comprehensively to assist in their work honest managers, loyal to the cause, who are in the majority in the combine, praising them and not being afraid of supporting them when support is needed. Why conceal it, the decisive actions of a manager in bringing order occasionally crash against the deafness or even obvious opposition of part of the collective, borne of group egotism.

In the past year a great deal of complaints have been received against Dmitriy Alekseyevich Tishchenko, chief of sheet rolling shop No 1. An investigation indicated that the facts cited in the complaints could not be confirmed. The work in the shop is going well and the collective has achieved substantial successes in implementing its plan and socialist obligations. Everything proved that the shop chief is a knowledgeable, exigent yet just person. Naturally, the complaints were hurtful and prevented him from working calmly. It was decided to hold a party committee meeting directly in the shop and to discuss the complaints in the presence of the collective. Twenty people spoke out. All of them highly rated the activities of their manager and cited facts proving his competence, and exigency toward himself and his subordinates. They drastically condemned the complainers. The party committee approved the work style and methods of Comrade Tishchenko which gave him confidence in pursuing his activities and his accurately chosen line of behavior.

This is no isolated case. Unfortunately, we must frequently consider such complaints, many of them anonymous. Their authors are doing everything possible to compromise good managers and to seek revenge for the fact that such managers are strict toward subordinates who make production or job errors. The scandalmongers know that each such complaint is investigated, that this takes dozens of people and that the results are mandatorily sent to

the superior bodies. That is why they will try anything, stubbornly hoping that eventually someone will decide that there is no smoke without fire and the "unsuitable" manager will become suspect. Before we have completed investigating one complaint, another anonymous one follows, to which new fabrications, described as facts, have been added. This leads to a new investigation and, once again, the totally innocent official becomes a defendant. Under such circumstances, some managers begin to think that perhaps their principle-mindedness and exigency toward subordinates are too costly.... Perhaps we should adopt the rule that under no circumstances will anonymous complaints be considered. I know that someone may object that frequently such denunciations are true and are written by people who fear persecution for their criticism and that a high number of such complaints turn out to be legitimate. However, if we encourage the anonymous type of correspondents, how can we develop within ourselves and within the comrades in our organization daring, principle-mindedness and other fighting qualities in the communist? Perhaps we should seriously consider what to do so that subordinates are not afraid of openly using the weapon of criticism while managers, whatever their rank, would not dare seek revenge for criticism....

In its time the combine's party committee had many problems with Sobolev, chief of the coke-chemical production facility. He was rude toward subordinates and ignored the party and trade union organizations. The plant newspaper wrote about Sobolev and his actions were discussed by the party committee. All of this had its results and helped save for the enterprise a knowledgeable manager. Today Sergey Yakovlevich works confidently, relying on and seeking the advice of the collective. The coke-chemical production facility at the combine is one of the best in the sector.

Concerned with creating in the shop collectives a healthy moral and psychological climate, the party committee extensively uses sociological studies. It discusses at open party meetings the candidate shop chiefs before their appointment. Vacancies are filled on a competitive basis, and candidate managers are invited to have a talk with the party committee. We use the plant radio and its newspaper METALLURG in molding a proper public opinion.

Naturally, all our efforts are aimed at acceleration. We have reviewed the party committee's work plan in order to concentrate on all crucial areas of the combine's work.

G.V. Serov, party committee secretary, USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy:

Of late our party committee has taken serious steps to strengthen the individual responsibility of the party members within the apparatus for their assigned work sector and for making stricter demands on them, which would include the state of affairs at subordinate enterprises. Such demand has become more principle-minded not only for the rank-and-file personnel but also the members of the ministry's collegium.

The depressing scale of paper shuffling was mentioned here with just indignation. The ministry's party committee and collegium are taking radical steps today to reduce this paper avalanche. Some results have already been achieved. We were able to reduce by 30 percent paper work at the large

Soyuzruda Association, which previously was in the tens of thousands of documents annually. The party committee recently criticized Aleksandr Andreyevich Kugushin, who spoke here at the beginning of this meeting, for the fact that the Soyuzmetallurgprom VPO, which he heads, cannot boast of similar successes. We also have such so-called "record setters," such as the Kosogorskiy plant, which managed to increase the paper flow by 30 percent.

Realizing what a great deal depends today on improving the style of activities of the central apparatus of the ministry and the departments, we are trying to organize a closer interaction with their party organizations. For example, recently a joint meeting of the party committees of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building discussed problems the solution of which will help to upgrade the efficient implementation by the two ministries of the program for technical retooling in the production of rolled metal pieces. The discussion was not easy although we shared the same views on basic problems of our cooperation. I believe, however, that both ministries will benefit from this meeting.

The work of the party committee with the party organizations of all-union industrial associations, republic ministries and administrations, and production associations and enterprises is assuming the features of a specific system. The joint discussion by party members of different organizations of key phenomena affecting the development of a subsector or enterprise is becoming daily practice. For example, quite recently the party buro of Soyuzmetallurgprom, together with the party buro of the cadre administration and the labor organization administration of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the party committee of the Moldavian Metallurgical Plant discussed problems of improving cadre work and developing socialist competition, which were of great importance to the enterprise's collective. A principle-minded party discussion, useful to all participants, was held. We believe that the plant's collective was given the necessary help. The party members working within the central apparatus were in the frontline of the struggle for acceleration, having seen the shortcomings in their own work through the eyes of the plant personnel.

We have never forgotten and have repeated the truth that on all levels cadres make the success of the project. It is no secret, however, that in recent years the higher management of a number of large enterprises and sectors in our national economy had weakened. In our sector as well we had to face the fact that the work of many enterprise, particularly in the Ukraine, had become unstable. We remember the criticism addressed at the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy. We were justifiably blamed for shortcomings in the activities of the central apparatus, the lowering of its skill and the fact that it included people without substantial experience in production work. Today our ministry's collective and party committee ascribe decisive significance to strengthening the sector with leading cadres, which is already helping to stabilize its activities. Ukrainian ferrous metallurgy is working stably today. In a number of cases the change of managers yielded very tangible and quick results. The central apparatus is being renovated as well. Of late many skilled production workers have been appointed heads of administrations, chief engineers and chief specialists. A special commission was set up by the party committee in charge of improving cadre work. We are expecting substantial

results from the steps which were taken. The problems of training and keeping skilled worker cadres in production is paid equally close attention by the party committees and organizations on all levels. We well realize that concern for cadres and for improving their working and living conditions means concern for the future, for the further progress of ferrous metallurgy.

I.V. Frantsenyuk, combine director, candidate of technical sciences, Hero of Socialist Labor:

The program for the combine's technical retooling for this 5-year period provides our collective with extensive opportunities for accelerated socioeconomic development. We have the full possibility of working in such a way as to assume leading positions not only in the country but also throughout the world. We are well familiar with the current standard of companies in Japan, the United States, the FRG, France and Italy. I do not even mention the fact that we are perfectly informed of the situation at similar enterprises in the fraternal socialist countries. Our combine maintains close contacts with many foreign companies and enterprises. Every year we are visited by up to 200 delegations from different countries. Let me say without false modesty that we are not ashamed of welcoming anyone of our partners. Our blast furnaces, converters and rolling mills are as good as the best foreign facilities in terms of the quality of output and labor productivity and, in many cases, are even superior to them. Naturally, as a whole the work force at the combine is greater than at similar capitalist enterprises. This is understandable, however, for no Western company has within its structure such a developed area of services as the one existing in socialist enterprises. For example, we have 49 cafeterias, five stores and many other sociocultural amenities.

We have no major reasons to fear economic competition with developed capitalist countries. We must win and we shall win this competition. To this effect, however, we must work tirelessly. We must work skillfully, energetically and creatively, eliminating totally from our mind the philosophy of emulation, and daringly finding new technical solutions and earmarking plans for the future. It is we, the party members, who must set the example of such attitude toward the work.

[Editorial note] The range of topical problems which were discussed, one way or another, in the course of the round-table meeting at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine, whose participants showed different viewpoints, and occasionally expressed arguable ideas, was broad. Everyone was united, however, in the main, the basic idea that a creative collective search for the shortest way to the implementation of the strategy of acceleration is needed. We hope that the round-table discussion at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine provided additional incentive for such a quest. Its participants agreed to meet again at end of the 12th 5-Year Plan to discuss the results of the work they will have done. And so, until we meet again!

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## NEW WAY OF THINKING AND WORKING

### TO BE IN THE ACTUAL VANGUARD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 41-51

[Interview with B. Goncharenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Voroshilovgrad Obkom]

[Text] The Voroshilovgrad party organization is one of our party's large detachments. The oblast's party members and labor collectives are achieving substantial successes in socioeconomic development and in solving the political and ideological problems formulated at the 27th Congress. However, there are obstructing factors as well, which hinder the reorganization process. Sometimes, as was noted at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, they are objective. Most frequently, however, they are the result of inertial thinking, obsolete habits and unchanged mentality.

The practices of daily life of the party organizations, present difficulties and contradictions and the formulation and implementation of new forms and methods of party work, consistent with the spirit of the time, are the range of problems discussed by the head of the Voroshilovgrad Oblast Party Organization with V. Sukhachevskiy, this journal's special correspondent.

[Question] My first question may seem to you, Boris Trofimovich, excessively general, covering virtually all aspects of activities of the oblast party organization. I hope that subsequently we shall be able to consider in greater detail some of them, based on specific practical cases. To begin with, however, I would like to paint for our readers, if I may express myself thus, a general portrait of the Voroshilovgrad party members. What are the new features which have appeared in them after the 27th CPSU Congress and how do you assess today their real strength and potential possibilities of implementing the process of reorganization?

[Answer] The essential meaning of the reorganization of all work, including that of the party, initiated after the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum, is, as we know, turning to the people, to the real project. That is precisely why the obkom has begun to pay greater attention to developing the independence, aggressiveness and, at the same time, increased responsibility of the primary party organizations, which are the main potential of the party and the political nucleus of labor collectives. Today no single essential problem, whether effecting production or way of life, cadre training and

placement or education of the working people, can be solved without the participation of the primary party organizations and without taking their view into consideration.

The party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms have begun to show greater concern for strengthening relations between primary party organizations and the masses and for increasing their influence on all aspects of the life and activities of production collectives. Between the 26th and 27th party congresses another 165 primary party organizations, 875 shop organizations and 485 party groups were created. The party organizations increased numerically and strengthened organizationally. One out of nine party organizations is headed by a party committee. In order to strengthen the party's influence in production subunits wherever there are no party members, 7,600 party organizers were assigned to and are currently at work in such subunits.

The structure of the primary party links is changing. In improving it, we tried to promote the more efficient deployment of the party members and to upgrade their activeness and vanguard role in the most important production sectors.

A number of examples could be cited on the way the initiative-minded and aggressive position taken by the party organizations have had a decisive impact on the results of economic activities of labor collectives. Here is one: for a long time the Mine imeni Vakhrushev, of the Rovenkiantratsit Production Association was in a difficult situation. The plan was not being fulfilled which means that the basic economic work indicators were worsening. In turn, this hindered the solution of important social problems and adversely affected the moral climate in the collective. Gradually the people were losing faith in the possibility of changing the situation for the better. Under those circumstances the steps taken to improve the situation failed to yield the necessary results. The only reason was that there were no favorable grounds for achieving this.

What to do? The only conclusion was that the mood of the people had to be changed decisively. Confidence had to be instilled in them and they had to be given a clear and specific target. This was accomplished by the mine's communists. Today this collective, which was lagging in the past, is leading in the competition; since the beginning of the year it has mined more than 70,000 tons of anthracite above the plan....

[Question] Allow me to interrupt you, Boris Trofimovich, this seems quite easy: a slogan was raised, a united "hooray" was heard and all problems were solved. This may occur. It is equally unquestionable that the enthusiasm, heroism and dedication of the Soviet people is an inexhaustible source of labor accomplishments. However, we are familiar with other situations as well: difficult problems of contemporary production cannot be resolved with a "hooray." What if the necessary equipment, spare parts and tools are unavailable and what if related enterprises let others down? What happens if the plan is not balanced with the necessary material-technical and manpower resources? Enthusiasm needs organizational support.

[Answer] Your remark is correct. However, I had no intention of reducing everything to a "slogan-type" enthusiasm. Naturally, everything in the story I told you was more difficult and went deeper. Let us recall the timeliness of Lenin's words quoted at the 27th CPSU Congress, to the effect that "when the situation changes and we must solve problems of a different kind, we cannot look back and try to solve them with yesterday's methods." "Do not try," Vladimir Ilich cautioned, "for you will not solve them!" It would be pertinent here to recall yet another thought expressed in the CPSU Central Committee political report, which has become programmatic in our activities: "There is no vanguard role of a communist in general; such a role is expressed in practical accomplishments."

It was precisely thus that the party members and the party organization of the Mine imeni Vakhrushev understood their role and task. They rejected the totally unsuitable tradition of justifying the poor work of the enterprise with excuses such as that something was not available somewhere, someone had failed to supply or procure something, etc.

The mine's party organization asked every party member to carry out his assignment in his sector in a model way, to set the example in everything and to lead the collective in solving the problems. At the same time, strict control was established over problems which exceeded the framework of individual responsibility, such as material and technical supplies, procurements, etc. We studied the experience of the best mining collectives and applied it. You have already heard about the results of these efforts.

Was all this quite simple? No, it involved extensive, persistent and painstaking work. Incidentally, it is thus that we were able initially to surmount the lagging and subsequently to place this collective among the progressive party organizations of many other mines.

[Question] The examples you cited prove the great possibilities which the party organizations have as the collective leaders of the masses. Let me now formulate the question somewhat more broadly. The essence of acceleration, as was emphasized at the 27th Party Congress, is the new quality of growth: all-round production intensification based on scientific and technical progress, structural reorganization of the economy and application of efficient forms of labor management, organization and incentive. How are today problems of acceleration in industry and agricultural production in the oblast solved and how does the party organization influence this process?

[Answer] Let me begin by citing a few figures. In the first 6 months of this year, compared with the same period in 1985, the volume of output in our oblast increased by 4.8 percent; labor productivity increased by 5 percent. This is virtually double the figure set in the plan indicators. Assignments for the production of the majority of most important types of commodities were overfulfilled. The miners did good work: 849,000 tons of coal were mined over and above the plan. The assignments for the production of consumer goods were overfulfilled. Additional goods were marketed worth 129 million rubles, compared the obligation to reach 130 million for the entire year. Matters have improved in capital construction. As to our rural workers, they fulfilled they plans and obligations for the sale of cattle, poultry, milk,



eggs and wool to the state. Work in the field--harvesting the grain crops and fodder procurements--is taking place on an organized basis.

Only yesterday, such indicators would have been considered proof of specific successes. Today, however, we are using a different scale in assessing our accomplishments, directing the attention to unfinished projects, omissions and lost opportunities. Frankly, they are numerous. During the first half of the year more than 10 percent of enterprises and associations did not fulfill their production marketing plans, falling 20 million rubles' short. A substantial percentage of construction organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are working below the level of their planned assignments. We are particularly concerned by the fact that so far major and grave problems such as upgrading production efficiency and production quality and prompt contractual deliveries are being solved sluggishly.

The plans for the production of superior quality goods are not being fulfilled in the cities of Antratsit, Bryank and Voroshilovgrad, in Slavyanoserbskiy and Starobelskiy Rayons, and at 25 percent of the oblast's associations and enterprises which have plans for the production of such commodities.

The work at light industry enterprises is not being all that successful. So far they have failed to display proper attention to the problem of radically updating variety. They are still continuing their pursuit of the notorious "gross output." Technological discipline has weakened. All of this has led to a significant increase in claims and fines in the shoe and clothing associations and the fine-cloth combine.

Where is the solution? We see it in the technical reconstruction of these enterprises and the better labor organization and incentive of the workers in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for Radically Upgrading Production Quality." Groups in charge of production quality are being set up throughout associations, enterprises, shops and sections. The possibilities of the brigade form of labor organization are being used more extensively to this effect. The role of brigade councils and of councils of brigade leaders and of material liability for damages caused to the enterprise is being increased.

Our Krasitel Association was criticized at the 27th Congress for the low quality of its output which goes, in particular, to the textile industry. Today the management of the association and the Rubezhnoye city party committee are taking steps to correct the situation. We were promised help by the central economic management authorities. Therefore, extensive and intensive work lies ahead in the reconstruction of enterprises, replacement of obsolete equipment and application of new technologies.

Let us point out that in other sectors as well, machine building in particular, essentially revolutionary steps must be taken aimed at upgrading the technical standards and quality of output.

I must admit that so far we have not learned how to manage economically. For example, we pay a stiff price for the partial utilization of new production capacities, annually losing more than 200 million rubles' worth of output for

this reason. Such losses are particularly high at coal, chemical and petrochemical and ferrous metallurgical enterprises.

Why is this? Not the least reason is the fact that some economic managers are still totally incapable of realizing the simple truth that acceleration is impossible without an increase in their individual work efforts and that it requires enterprise and daring and innovative decisions. Instead, some of our economic managers, who have managed by hook or by crook to obtain from the ministries reduced plans, have secured a tranquil life for themselves. Unfortunately, such facts were not given a principle-minded assessment on time by some enterprise party committees. We must admit that sectorial departments of the party obkom have displayed inadmissible tolerance in this case.

How do we intend to correct this situation? We deem it our main task today decisively to eliminate obsolete concepts and traditions and steadily to increase the work pace and this very year reach the maximally highest levels, thus laying firm foundations for the strict implementation of the 5-year plans. The efforts of the party organizations and labor collectives are subordinated to this objective. The appeals of the delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress to complete the assignments for the first 2 years of the 5-year period by the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the initiative of the progressive mine brigades at the Krasnodonugol Production Association, who resolved to extract no less than 1 ton of coal per worker and to drill in addition to the assignment a half meter of tunnel or more per drilling worker on a monthly basis met with extensive support. Both initiatives were approved by the obkom party buro and their ideas were adopted by the party organizations and labor collectives not only in the coal industry but in other economic sectors as well.

We are familiar with other areas of progressive experience: Leningrad and the AvtoVAZ, the Sumy Machine Building Scientific-Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze and the combines plant in Dnepropetrovsk. We also expect a great deal from the dissemination of the experience of our Azot Production Association in Severodonetsk, which achieved substantial successes in the conservation of all types of resources, and the knitted goods factory in Voroshilovgrad, where good economic results were achieved by updating variety and improving production quality.

Let me especially mention the achievements of the animal husbandrymen at the Kolkhoz imeni Engels, Novopetrovskiy Rayon. In its time, the party obkom buro approved the initiative of this collective, which pledged to double the volume of meat output and marketing in the 11th 5-year period. As it should be, the struggle for attaining this objective was headed by the party members. The kolkhoz members kept their word. This experience was described in detail in the oblast press and today it is being applied by many farms. This year production in livestock farms is being confidently increased at the Ukraina Kolkhoz, Belovodskiy Rayon, the Kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov in Markovskiy Rayon and the Progress Kolkhoz, Slatovskiy Rayon. The same could be said of the following sovkhoses: Slavyanoserbskiy in Slavyanoserbskiy Rayon, Udarnik in Lutuginskiy Rayon, the Chernukhinskaya Poultry Farm in Perevalskiy Rayon and many others.

Naturally, progressive experience yields the best results when it is actively supported. We try to provide such support with all means at our disposal. Here is an example: the obkom approved and promoted the dissemination in virtually all oblast farms of the initiative of the party members at the Kolkhoz imeni XX Syezda KPSS, Novoaydarskiy Rayon, and the Trud Gornyaka Sovkhoz, Krasnodonskiy Rayon, aimed at improving the utilization of agricultural equipment and streamlining the work of mechanizers. The results were the following: the daily productivity of machine-tractor units in all operations increased by 30-40 percent compared with 1984; the shift coefficient reached 1.6-1.8, as compared to 1.2-1.3. In 1985 the oblast was the first in the Ukraine to complete the harvesting of grain crops and to fulfill its plan for grain sales to the state. We are trying comprehensively to consolidate such experience this year.

We intend significantly to increase work on the certification and rationalization of work places and to undertake more persistently the application of the elements of the scientific organization of labor. Through this alone, we are hoping this year to release in industry the equivalent of 10,000 workers, to close down 1,600 work places and to convert 5,400 people from manual to mechanized labor.

[Question] It is clear that the conversion to intensive economic management methods and the wide-scale use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress greatly depend on the ideological convictions, consciousness, civic maturity and social activeness of the people. What are the ways and means used by the party committees to develop these qualities, and what are the new features which appeared in this important project after the 27th CPSU Congress?

[Answer] As the folk saying goes, man is at the origin of things. Naturally, problems of cadre upbringing and placement and the restructuring of their way of thinking and acting in accordance with the requirements of the congress assume prime significance today.

The party obkom pays particular attention to management cadres. We are doing everything possible to develop and consolidate within every party, soviet and economic worker a clear understanding of the nature of the reorganization, conviction that it is needed, practical activeness and initiative. To this effect we include in our practical work the presentation of systematic reports by managers to their party organizations and labor collectives and the periodical assessment of their qualities, as a result of which, as a rule, we hold principle-minded and truly party-oriented discussions with them. This urges leading cadres on and makes them critically to consider their own work and behavior. In the case of some personnel such discussions end with quite serious disciplinary measures and even organizational conclusions. Thus, in the past 18 months alone, in the course of such accountability reports, 388 leading economic managers and secretaries of primary party organizations at enterprises and organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been taken to task by the party and 103 managers have been released from their positions.

Buro members, secretaries and senior personnel of the party obkom try to act in the spirit of the time and set the example in the reorganization although, frankly speaking, this is not always successfully accomplished by everyone.

Of late the party committees have adopted a number of forms of organizational work which, in my view, are quite effective. For example, they hear reports submitted by primary party organizations at meetings of the buro and secretariat of the party obkom. As a result, we have been able to consider in detail and to analyze the work of more than 20 primary party organizations, including those at the petroleum refinery in Lisichansk, the metallurgical combine in Kommunar'sk, the Voroshilovgradteplovoy Production Association and the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, Sverdlovskiy Rayon.

On-site sessions held by the buros of the Rubezhnoye Gorkom and Artemovskiy Party Raykom of Voroshilovgrad at various party organizations also proved to be effective. Comprehensive work with the cadre reserve is being done by Novoaydarskiy Raykom. Svatovskiy Raykom is engaged in the energetic and purposeful enhancement of the autonomy of the rayon executive committee and RAPO Council. The Rovenki and Stakhanov Gorkoms are steadily perfecting the activities of their party apparatus.

Attention to ideological work and cadre training has increased after the 27th CPSU Congress. All party organizations carried out the sociopolitical certification of agitators and propagandists, in the course of which the political and practical qualities and individual capabilities of the personnel were studied in detail. As a result, fresh forces have been added to the agitation-propaganda aktiv, consisting of production frontrankers and innovators and experienced managers.

Social and other scientists and party workers suitably familiar with the art of propaganda and agitation have been recruited to train the aktiv. Training methods, such as the study of economic activities, analysis of specific situations, writing and defending papers, on-site classes at best party organizations and practical science conferences are used regularly. The party committees hear reports submitted by students attending party courses, managers in particular, and hold discussions with them.

The party organizations in Voroshilovgrad, Severodonetsk and Rovenki and Belovodskiy and Markovskiy Rayons have gained rich experience in developing practical contacts between managers and working people at enterprises and at home, informing them of the work of party and soviet bodies during unified policy days, open letter days, question and answer evenings and sociopolitical readings.

Such meetings enable us efficiently to identify and solve many crucial problems. In particular, remarks and suggestions by the working people helped to eliminate a number of shortcomings in the production of consumer goods and services and social insurance and in the work of the transport and health care systems.

[Question] Briefly, a great deal depends on the skill of the party aktiv and the ideological cadres in harnessing the creative energy of the people and

seeing to it that everyone work conscientiously and with total dedication at his job. Naturally, everything in this case is important: explanations, talks, tutorship, training, the microclimate in the collective, the atmosphere in the family and attention to the individual and work with him. In this connection, could you give us a specific example of how are the interconnection and interdependence between the level of party work and the socioeconomic activeness of the working people manifested?

[Answer] Many such examples could be cited. For example, the party obkom buro studied in detail at one of its sessions the work of the Kommunarsk Gorkom. It turned out that the gorkom did not always ensure unity among political, organizational and economic activities. Inertness, routine and formalism were tangibly manifested. Is it amazing that under such circumstances the working people of Kommunarsk complained a great deal of the work of the city transportation, trade and consumer service enterprises and cultural and health care establishments?

After the report which was submitted to the oblast party committee buro, as the facts indicate, the gorkom drew the necessary conclusions from the discussions. The city party aktiv, agitators and political reporters began to visit more frequently lagging collectives, brigades and individual work places. Greater attention was paid to small collectives, where sometimes public opinion was shaped without proper party influence. As a result, the moral atmosphere in the city changed for the better and economic indicators in most collectives improved. Such changes occurred in the postcongress period in the activities not only of the Kommunarsk Gorkom but also in many other party committees. Now it is a question of consolidating and increasing what was started.

The oblast party committee demands of the ideological aktiv to explain the materials of the congress and the June 1986 Central Committee Plenum in such a way that the people can see more clearly, through the lens of broad national affairs, their own place in the common ranks, and gain complete understanding of their role in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. We combine this work with explaining tasks related to intensifying the economy of the oblast, further strengthening of discipline and order, struggle with various negative phenomena and creation of most favorable conditions for highly productive labor.

I shall not conceal that the problem of ensuring the population with commestible goods remains quite sensitive in our oblast. We intend to lower its gravity substantially this 5-year period. Under the leadership of the party organizations and with the extensive participation of production frontrankers and specialists at associations and enterprises of the agroindustrial complex and in trade steps were formulated the implementation of which will enable us significantly to increase the production of foodstuffs during the 12th 5-year period, to increase their variety and improve their quality. The party obkom buro and the executive committee of the oblast soviet of people's deputies considered and approved suggestions submitted by the collectives on increasing the output of commestible goods in 1986-1990. Corresponding assignments were approved for each sector, city and rayon.

Measures were also taken to ensure organizational-party support and control over the implementation of the decision which was made.

Its essence is to ensure the technical retooling and reconstruction of food production enterprises, shops and sections. This will enable us to make better use of production capacities and to process more extensively meat, dairy and other agricultural raw materials and reduce fruit and vegetable losses. The agroprom labor collectives intend to carry out this work above all through their own efforts and possibilities and local raw materials, with the help of the other oblast industrial enterprises. During this 5-year period we intend to increase the production of foodstuffs by the oblast agroprom food industry by 33 percent; production will be increased by 22 percent in the meat and dairy industries and by 42 percent in the canning industry. Food production will be increased by 125 million rubles' worth. All of this will enable us to recover the cost of the expansion and reconstruction of production facilities within 2-3 years. This project was approved by the CPSU Central Committee and the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee.

[Question] We know that the quality of the work of a party organization and its influence on the affairs of the collective considerably depend on the personality of the secretary. It is a great honor to head a party organization. It is also a great responsibility, for people look up to the secretary, seek his advice on a variety of problems and sometimes judge of the entire party organization by him. Unfortunately, however, so-called pocket secretaries are quite frequently encountered. Such a secretary is under the thumb of the economic manager and obediently follows all his instructions. He does not contradict him and ignores the errors and abuses of that type of "strong personality" only for the sake of coexisting with him in peace and friendship. This is particularly typical of many unliberated secretaries, who, willy-nilly, practice their official subordination to the manager in the area of party work. What can you tell us about this problem?

[Answer] The problem indeed exists. I can even say that it goes beyond the limits of direct relations between the chief and the party organization secretary. Who among us has not come across such a situation? A party meeting is being held and the party members participate in the debates. They observe the approved regulations. But then the economic manager takes the floor and submits what is essentially a second report.

For some reason, we are confusing the concept of official and party relations. In a party organization, a party meeting, everyone is equal, from the minister to the messenger. Yet, instead of seeking the comradely advice of party members, some managers consider the party meeting a convenient place for "criticism from above" and for issuing their latest instructions and administrative orders. They take the floor at the end of the discussion, occasionally blowing up at those whose speeches they did not like. How often have we seen cases in which the party members have interrupted the speech of an administrator who gets carried away, or called on him to observe the established procedure and obey the discipline applicable to all party members?

The party obkom assesses such practices strictly. We are encouraging the party organizations persistently to upgrade the quality of preparations of meetings and hold them in an atmosphere of frank exchange of opinions, principle-minded criticism and self-criticism, firmly rejecting excessive organization and unnecessary regulations. We see to it that after each party meeting all suggestions and remarks of the party members are thoroughly analyzed, that specific steps are being earmarked and mandatorily implemented on their basis and that the party members be informed of such work at their regular meetings. So far this is not happening everywhere. We are confident, however, that such practices will shortly become standard in all party organizations.

Unquestionably, the role of the party organization secretary is particularly important in establishing a spirit of party comradeship in an atmosphere of practicality and creativity. Above all, he personally must set the example of high responsibility, principle-mindedness and competence. He must be a model of spiritual purity and honesty. Such a secretary cannot be easily "put in one's pocket." Here again it becomes a question of cadres, of their selection and upbringing. We consider today this to be the most important of all problems.

The obkom is always concerned with having the most reputable and industrious party members, totally devoted to the party cause and able organizers, at the head of the party organizations. We have many such secretaries. Let me name first among them B. Luganskiy, at the Rovenki Mine Administration, V. Milokostenko, at the Ferroalloys Plant in Stakhanov and I. Perepelkin at the 40 Let Oktyabrya Sovkhoz, Slavyanoserbskiy Rayon. Today more than 70 percent of party organization secretaries have higher school training. The percentage of workers, women and national economic specialists among the secretaries has increased.

However, we too are well-familiar with the problem you pointed out in your question. Occasionally, some secretaries do not react to difficulties or take the economic manager into consideration in their actions. The accurate and clear position of city, rayon and oblast party committees is important in the elimination of such phenomena. It is precisely they who must do everything possible for each primary party organization to be able to make principle-minded decisions on a broad range of problems, including those involving cadres, and comprehensively support secretaries, protect their authority and provide them with normal working conditions.

The lack of such support occasionally leads to extremely undesirably consequences. V. Isayko, the former director of the large Mine imeni 60-Letiya SSSR of the Sverdlovtratsit Production Association, whose activities were not properly assessed by the party committee, used his official position for his own selfish purposes. This manager, who had gone too far, was expelled from the party. Also relieved from his position was Party Committee Secretary N. Sazhnev. Yet this could have been avoided, had the party committee and its secretary, with the support of the Sverdlovsk City Party Committee, displayed the necessary party principle-mindedness, corrected the director on time and cautioned him against taking steps inconsistent with the high title of party member and the duty of a manager.

It is precisely thus that L. Kushchenko, party committee secretary at the Gorskiy Sovkhoz, Popasnyanskiy Rayon, acted when E. Prokopchenko, the farm's director, who had surrounded himself by subservient and unprincipled people, adopted a tolerant or, more precisely, an irresponsible attitude toward violators of state discipline and work shortcomings. He did everything possible to avoid party and public control. The party committee secretary promptly informed the party raykom of the fact. The difficulty could have been avoided, had the raykom adopted a fully responsible attitude toward the report submitted by the party committee secretary. This, however, did not happen. In the final account, the party obkom was forced to intervene. Several sovkhoz executives, including its director, were relieved from their positions and expelled from the party.

We are concerned by the fact that even now, after the congress, a certain number of primary party organizations are still not in a hurry to abandon their passive and formalistic attitude. As a result, the influence of such party organizations on the actual state of affairs in the labor collectives turns out to be extremely insignificant. The blame in this case falls also on the party gorkoms and raykoms, which do not provide sufficient specific guidance to the party organizations. We must also mention the negligent and, sometimes, even irresponsible attitude of some secretaries of party organizations and party committee and buro members toward their obligations.

[Question] Generally speaking, to call things by their names, it is apparently still premature to speak of any significant accomplishments achieved by party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations in the reconstruction of their work style and method. Is this correct?

[Answer] Strictly speaking, yes. I believe that such a sober assessment of the situation can only benefit all of us. Unfortunately, some party committees and organizations have still not abandoned their style of fussing and paper shuffling. They continue to be excessively carried away by all sorts of investigations. Meanwhile, their political and organizational work, maintaining steady contacts with the people, and efficient control over the implementation of decisions remain their weak points. A number of serious shortcomings of this nature were recently noted by a CPSU Central Committee commission which visited our oblast. Based on the results of a thorough study of a wide range of problems, shortcomings and errors in the work of the party obkom and some party committees were pointed out and a principle-minded criticism of specific individuals was made.

As was noted at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, no reorganization whatsoever could take place unless the party organizations establish an atmosphere of intolerance of shortcomings, stagnation in the work, ostentatiousness and meaningless talk. All of us need principle-minded and constructive criticism, addressed at specific individuals, identifying the reasons for errors and omissions and indicating the means of correcting them. For the time being, however, such a party stipulation is not being observed firmly everywhere. In the past year, for example, no criticism was addressed at first secretaries in the 153 party gorkom and raykom plenums which were held.



Naturally, this is not a matter of statistics. In the final account, one could even reach a 100 percent criticism of all managers and organization members. Such efforts of adapting to the reorganization have indeed taken place. I am quoting figures only to point out to the need to surmount more rapidly the hopelessly obsolete traditions of "fear of criticism."

Not everything is as it should be with our organization in the matter of efficient reaction to criticism. For example, the Bryanka Gorkom was recently criticized at party obkom plenums and at the oblast party conference for shortcomings in its work with lagging collectives. The Pervomaysk Gorkom was criticized for omissions in work with cadres and the Belokurakinskiy Raykom for poor leadership of agricultural enterprises. What happened? So far no major changes have taken place in the activities of party committees.

You see, therefore, that only the first steps have been taken toward a radical reconstruction in the work of the party organizations. However, we shall not abandon this system. The essential meaning of the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum may be reduced precisely to the fact of not losing a single day in stirring things up, increasing the pace of our progress and more boldly rejecting anything which is still hindering creative and initiative-minded work.

[Question] Boris Trofimovich, you have shown the inseparable connection between political and ideological work and economic intensification and the direct correlation between the two quite convincingly. As we know, however, there is no policy for the sake of policy or economics for the sake of economics. All such things are aimed at specific items and have a specific objective. The party considers as the supreme objective of its activities the further enhancement of the well-being of the Soviet people. What is being accomplished in Voroshilovgrad Oblast in this area?

[Answer] It is no secret that in the past it was precisely insufficient attention to the social area that become one of the reasons for the slowdown of our economic development and the manifestation of other negative trends in social life. Today we must eliminate as soon as possible the consequences of this approach and set as our cornerstone the solution of the entire set of problems related to the working and living conditions of the people.

One of the gravest problems today is that of housing. As we know, the 27th CPSU Congress set the task of ensuring for each family its own apartment or house by the year 2000. In this connection, steps are being taken to increase the completion of housing in our oblast as well. A major program has been planned for this year and for the entire 5-year period. Thus, between 1986 and 1990 more than 865 million rubles will be invested in housing construction. We are planning the construction of 4.5 million square meters of housing, including 327,000 for small families and 470,000 and 560,000 square meters, respectively, in cooperative and individual construction. We intend to build youth housing complexes. We greatly relate the implementation of this program to the extensive dissemination of the experience of the Voroshilovgradzhilstroy Combine, the Severodonetsk House Building Combine and the Starobelskselstroy Trust, which called for organizing the rhythmical completion of housing and upgrading its quality this 5-year period.

However, merely providing the working people with housing is insufficient. A wide range of social problems must be solved as well, such as organizing repairs of existing housing facilities and ensuring the further development of the communal economy and the entire area of consumer services.

We were criticized at the 27th Party Congress for our inattentive attitude toward the request of the population of the Gornyatskiy Settlement, Perevalskiy Rayon, for housing repairs, improving heat and water supplies and landscaping the settlement. Proper steps have been planned and are being implemented. However, other mining settlements, and we have 46 of them in the oblast, and many of our cities have similar problems. The oblast executive committee and the UkSSR Ministry of Coal Industry drafted a comprehensive plan for the development of a large number of settlements during the 10th 5-year period. Some 175 million rubles will be invested in this project.

Last April the problem was formulated in the following manner at the party obkom plenum: all of our industrial enterprises, construction and transportation organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses most energetically participate in the development of the social area. We are currently organizing steady control over such work by party committees and soviet and trade union bodies and social organizations.

One of the key points in the social area is increasing the output, expanding the variety and improving the quality of consumer goods. Of late significant work has been done in the oblast in this area, as I have already pointed out. Last year alone popular consumer goods worth more than 50 million rubles were produced in addition to the planned volume. However, by no means are all reserves being used. Thus, the production of consumer goods has been organized only at 336 of the 400 industrial enterprises at which such goods can be produced. We must also surmount the conservatism of the management of many enterprises in Voroshilovgrad, Lisichansk, Krasnyy Luch and many other cities, which are not particularly willing to master technically complex items, and are producing items easier to make year after year.

The city and rayon soviets of people's deputies can and must do a great deal to promote the development of the social area. However, by no means are all of them handling this matter properly. They make poor use of the possibilities at their disposal. I recently took part in the unified policy day at the Gorskaya Mine of the Pervomayskugol Production Association. The miners justifiably expressed a number of serious complaints addressed at the managers of the Pervomaysk City Executive Committee. Because of its passive attitude, problems of supplying the city with natural gas, the building of a pumping station, which would significantly improve water supplies, and the elimination of major shortcomings in the urban transportation system are being solved extremely slowly. These may not seem to be new problems. However, it is precisely this kind of traditional nature of such problems which are mentioned by the population year after year that makes it necessary to solve them under the conditions of the acceleration in a new way, much more efficiently and completely.

The party obkom must provide a principle-minded assessment of each case of breakdown in the sale of goods, the delayed and substandard implementation of

orders, violation of service regulations and unattentive and indifferent attitude toward people. We are orienting the party committees and organizations toward providing a critical evaluation of the situation in the service area and displaying greater strictness toward its personnel.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out that so far the reconstruction is taking place slowly and in some cases inefficiently. This assessment applies to our oblast party organization as well. We clearly realize that we are only at the beginning of the way planned by the 27th CPSU Congress. We are trying, without losing any time, to do everything possible for the great party plans for the 12th 5-Year period and beyond it to become reality.

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## In My Opinion.... Letters to the Editors

### BUILDING ON OUR OWN AND MANAGING ECONOMICALLY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 52-53

[Letter to the editors by V. Isayev, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni M. Gorkiy, Leninskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast]

[Text] In my opinion, building in the countryside, by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses themselves, should be comprehensively developed, supported and encouraged.

Next year I will have worked as chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni M. Gorkiy, Leninskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, for 35 years. During the difficult postwar times we built up our farm which was joined by five smaller and weaker neighbors. Today we can say not without pride that in all indicators our kolkhoz is doing well in the rayon and the oblast. The kolkhoz economy is strengthening with every passing year and life in our villages is improving.

Looking back and asking ourselves how we were able to achieve our present successes, we realize that the main thing was that we thought about the people and their working and living conditions. This was what we relied on, for which reason we succeeded. In our case, to think about the people meant, above all, to build. We had to build industrial projects for the farm to grow, develop and strengthen. We had to build housing so that the people would not leave their native place but, conversely, would try to come back and settle here once and for all. We had to build a school, kindergarten, hospital, house of culture, service center, public bath, post office, stores and cafeterias. In other words, we had to build our countryside not according to yesterday's model but that of the future. We built. We built ourselves, through our own efforts and with our own money, doing the work ourselves. Incidentally, we also carefully saved each ruble, working hour, brick and nail.

Today our kolkhoz has no housing problem, unlike many farms in the Moscow area, where the problem remains. In our kolkhoz it has been solved. More than 400 kolkhoz member families now live in comfortable premises and farmstead-type housing. You will be amazed when you look at our central farmstead, our Molokovo: what a great deal has been accomplished and how much has been built! Unwittingly one dreams of how much more could have been accomplished had we had the opportunity!

At this point the question of that same opportunity arises. What does building by our own power mean? It means that the kolkhoz builds using its own manpower, its own money earned by the kolkhoz members, without contractors or bank loans. In turn, this means that we ourselves must find and purchase building materials, select construction workers among the kolkhoz members to avoid the use of "moonlighters," and pay for everything with our own rubles, very economically.

It is at this point that quite a number of problems arise although there should be none. On the one hand, it is as though no one intends to hinder us. On the other, however...

Let us begin with the fact that all construction materials are funded through the respective organizations. In our case this means the RAPO. However, it is meeting no more than 30 percent of our needs today. Where can the rest come from? To buy? But how? And how much could be bought in stores for kolkhoz building? We need slate, nails, paint and lumber. If somehow we can purchase something for cash, difficulties appear with the bank in settling accounts and presenting copies of checks. This is not all that simple. In my view, with coordinated and approved construction plans for building with our own forces specific projects within the specified volume, the specific amounts of construction materials should be allocated immediately.

Here is another question: The kolkhoz is not an SMU or a construction trust. It does not have to have and sometimes does not have at all any special expensive machines and mechanisms. Is it not time to consider the organization of interrayon centers for leasing construction equipment, perhaps even with specialists to service it? For example, they may come in a kolkhoz and pour the reinforced concrete and we would pay them for their work.

We have a permanent brigade of 50 people who have mastered all construction skills. For more than 5 years we have also had our capital construction department, headed by the deputy kolkhoz chairman. It could be said that our OKS is an official body and could be entrusted with problems of planning, work and control over construction. The kolkhoz board indeed trusts it. What is strange and insulting is that whenever the OKS turns to rayon and oblast organizations or various financial institutions, it virtually always meets with some kind of mistrust, particularly on the part of controlling authorities. I believe that such an attitude should be ended. It spoils the mood of the people, deprives them of the willingness to work and to show initiative. In the final account, we watch over our own rubles. Why should we not be trusted to handle our own funds?

This is related to the problem of expenditures. Currently we have in the bank 7 million rubles in available cash. However, this money is not being put to work. We are unable to use it in our construction work. We are not allowed to do it. They ask us questions, such as "where? why? by whose permission?" we sometimes feel like asking them the following: "Do we or do we not have a kolkhoz? Do we have rights or are such rights on paper only?"

Unquestionably, doing our own building and managing the kolkhoz funds economically, blocking and totally excluding any kind of abuse is necessary.

However, this is our specific concern. What is happening is that they do not even trust us that we ourselves are interested in maintaining strictest possible control.

Having considered these and many other problems related to doing our own construction, I have reached the conclusion that the time has come to formulate a uniform nationwide regulation on this type of construction, which would include all basic aspects and details and, above all, regulate relations between the building organization and all superior territorial, departmental, financial and controlling authorities. In my view, the usefulness of this would be substantial.

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## DEVELOPING SELF-GOVERNMENT AT THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 53-55

[Letter to the editors by B. Strashun, professor, doctor of juridical sciences]

[Text] In my opinion, the time has come to organize citizens at their place of residence into self-governing primary territorial collectives.

In all activities as, in fact, in any area of human endeavor, the very foundation is organization. Without it an initiative can just as quickly disappear as flare up. The legislation stipulates agencies in charge of social activities to work at places of residence--street, district and other committees. In particular, more than 30 microrayons in Tbilisi have social councils (so-called microcouncils). They are elected by the residents at general meetings by open vote. Such councils (numbering between 40 and 60 members) usually gather once every quarter. However, their executive authority--a committee of 10 social activists (only the chairman and the secretary are full-time executive committee workers who are paid, however, from withholdings from rents) work full time. The committee coordinates the activities of communal economy sections, urbanization and environmental protection; trade, public catering and consumer services; socialist legality and public order; education, culture and work with young people.

What are the results? The entire work is structured under the direct and immediate influence of public opinion. The members of the microcouncil are local residents who are well familiar with existing difficulties. Reporting troubles has become here simpler than approaching the executive committee of the rayon soviet; it is also easier to determine what is causing them. Naturally, the residents become more energetically involved in solving social problems which require collective intervention.

The Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress noted that the initiative of many social organizations remains insufficient and that their popular, creative and voluntary nature is by no means used in full. This just blame equally applies to the work of the voluntary councils and committees. They frequently rely on a small number of activists. Many residents are familiar with their activities only from hearsay and, frequently, have no idea whatsoever about their work. Obviously, booths

should be erected in each microrayon, informing the population of the plans and results of the work of such authorities, giving their addresses and telephone numbers.

Above all, it is necessary to change their official status and to solve a number of material, organizational and legal problems. The voluntary councils and committees have no rights whatsoever in dealing with unconscientious workers. Nor do they have any material and financial facilities. Currently, as we know, in the case of breakdowns the residents turn into tiresome petitioners by applying to the DEZ or the ZhEU.

Let us assume that the council is informed of the fact that the central heating batteries in the apartments are not operating, that the roof is leaking and that a water tap has not been repaired properly and on time. A commission goes to investigate and draws up a document. However, the house management offices frequently bring forth a great variety of excuses and everything remains as it was. The document is transmitted along proper channels and, in the final account, reaches the executive committee. The executive committee has accumulated a number of such documents and identifying the specific culprits, determining the accuracy of the claims, setting work priorities and supervising their execution is not very easy.

In 1974, when the first three microcouncils were set up in Tbilisi, the entire housing-management service was placed under their jurisdiction. They had their bank accounts out of which they could pay for all repair work and the council acted as the customer. In the morning the worker organizer collected the requests and in the evening he reported on the work done. All problems were solved quickly.

Essentially, such microcouncils took over on their own territory some of the functions of the executive committees, becoming the binding link between the authorities and the population. Unfortunately, subsequently the house management service was placed out of the control of the microcouncils. Instead, their experience should have been adopted and the microcouncils should have become agencies of true self-government with economic-administrative functions. The mechanism of relations in the social area should be structured in such a way that every resident would feel the existence of a direct link between his participation in the management of this area and the satisfaction of his interest with its help.

In my view, the managers of the DEZ should be answerable to the microcouncils for their activities (and be subordinate to the corresponding agencies of the executive committee of the local soviet only for technical matters). Perhaps relations between the DEZ and such public councils should be based on the principle according to which the cost of maintaining housing facilities (including the DEZ) be borne by the microrayon population itself. Actually, the practical experience in managing house-building cooperatives proves that differences in paying for premises, compared with the state housing fund, are minor. Taking furthermore into consideration all of our 3- or 5-ruble notes which fall into the pockets of the representatives of the communal services, the lost working days of people who leave their jobs to meet an appointment with them and the tiring hours spent in waiting, telephone conversations and



nervous energy, an additional "correction coefficient" could be included in this differential. In the case of low-income families and individuals entitled to rent benefits the difference could be paid by the state. However, in such a case state expenditures for the upkeep of housing would have been much lesser than they are now. Through their self-governing agencies the residents themselves could set up the proper funds and handle them, determine the size of the DEZ personnel and their wages. Since funds saved in this manner would be left at the disposal of the residents, this would encourage them to be thrifty in spending the assets of the housing fund and materials and monetary funds. In order to prevent the bureaucratization of the public council of the microrayon or the distortion of its nature, the number of reelection terms could be limited, so that as many people as possible may be exposed to the experience of self-governing.

The microrayon council could actively influence state service enterprises and establishments as well, if given the necessary rights. For example, a microrayon trade commission elected at house-building meetings, could, if necessary, express its lack of confidence to the director and the sales clerks and petition for their dismissal or, conversely, call for rewarding them and even awarding them a bonus from the self-governing authority fund. In such a case, obviously, the store personnel would begin to consider not the interests of their department but, above all, those of the customers.

Such primary territorial collectives could provide the same support to the local soviets as is provided today by labor collectives. This would enable a significant percentage of candidates for deputies to be nominated at places of residence, among the public activists who are familiar with the problems of their electoral district from practical experience instead of from speculations. In turn, before voting for such candidates, many residents would exchange views, assess their practical qualities and, subsequently, supervise their work more concretely.

Currently the party leadership in the microrayon is provided by the party organization consisting exclusively of DEZ personnel and pensioners. This is hardly proper. We should, as they do in Czechoslovakia for example, involve in public activities party members working in other rayons (naturally, by making them members of the party organization at their place of residence which, incidentally, is not all that difficult). It would be expedient to issue party assignments at the enterprise or organization where they work.

In my view, it would be much more efficient to organize voluntary people's units at places of residence than at work. In such a case they would watch over the peaceful life of their families, friends and neighbors and deal more efficiently with the prevention of delinquency in their familiar environment, while the public would be able objectively to assess their efforts.

In modern housing many people are only briefly acquainted or not acquainted at all with their neighbors: who they are, what they do, what they may need. The development of territorial self-government would help to break down the invisible barrier of lack of communication, which is a chronic disease of our urban-oriented age, help the population of multiple-family dwellings know one another better and, subsequently, the population of entire microrayons,

rallying them within a single social nucleus and involving them in joint activities. Not only the shared interests in daily life but also concern for the leisure time of the children (joint construction or rebuilding neglected sports grounds, creation of hobby circles, vocal and stage ensembles, etc.) and for the aged and the handicapped could become an excellent binding link. Today the lack of communication is felt particularly by adolescents, young people and pensioners. Clubs (with good will premises can always be found) where one could spend an evening over a cup of coffee, discuss domestic and foreign events, jointly look at an interesting television program, listen to the new music records which a neighbor has been able to acquire, etc., should be set up for spending time together. The public at home could make a significant contribution also to the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Measures to Increase the Struggle Against Unearned Income," and in observing the principle of social justice. With the help of the residents, activists belonging to the socialist law and order sections could identify individuals who avoid socially useful labor, who have no residential permits, who rent out living areas for personal profit and other selfish purposes, and people who live beyond their means. In other words, they could do that which the section inspector or the DEZ personnel cannot accomplish alone.

Obviously, not all of these suggestions are unquestionable. I am not a utopian and I understand that even the most democratic form of relations could become distorted in practice and even turn into its opposite. Self-government is not only a right but a responsibility which assigns the citizens, as Lenin said, "the burdens of administration...." A socially active mass must be educated. The development of self-government by the population could serve this purpose well, for the growing generation, observing such activities on the part of its parents, elder brothers and sisters and neighbors, will begin to channel its energy more actively into socially useful work.

In the struggle for the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our society we must make use of all opportunities for the all-round enhancement of the human factor today, not tomorrow. The development of self-government of territorial collectives is one of the most important ways of achieving this objective. It is a question of supporting the developing shoots of the new social community of people, studying our own experience and the experience of the other socialist countries and formulating and applying a system of self-government by the population which would be consistent to the highest degree with our urgent social needs.

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## TECHNOLOGY FOR THE NORTH: WISH AND REALITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 55-60

[Text] The June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which profoundly analyzed the initial lessons from the reorganization, clearly formulated the conclusion, confirmed by daily practical experience, that in real life both positive trends and hindering factors develop in the process of acceleration of society's socioeconomic development. Some of them are objective. However, the inertia of calm, obsolete customs, and a frozen mentality are manifested most frequently of all. A demarcation line runs through all areas of modern life, where the old and the new clash in sharp confrontation. Frequently, this line is invisible. It is in the minds of the people, defining their positions and actions. Today the prime duty of the communist is to support with all their forces and means and actively to promote the socioeconomic changes initiated by the party and needed by society and by us all.

Reconstruction and acceleration are concepts which are politically absolutely clear. They are specific and tolerate no idle talk. These days, when we can conceive more completely and emphatically the scale and depth of the changes which are gathering strength in all areas of life and can see more clearly the various types of difficulties which must be surmounted, the study of the specific, the typical situations which arise in one area, sector or labor collective or another, becomes particularly important. What is the actual deployment of forces here? What must be done first of all in order to make the reorganization irreversible? We believe that in this sense the letter which was sent to the editors and which follows, written by Yu. Paramonov, a petroleum worker from Tyumen, contains a great deal of instructive thoughts in this respect. We asked journalist I. Ognev, special correspondent of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for Tyumen Oblast to comment on the letter.

Letter by Yu. Paramonov, foreman, extraction shop No 2, Nizhnevartovskneftegaz Association, member of the association's party committee and of the Nizhnevartovsk CPSU Gorkom:

Dear editors:

I was prompted to write this letter by facts which we have considered for many years. There was a time when they were accepted as annoying but isolated blunders, as "temporary" difficulties. We see today, however, that it is a

question of a rather lasting trend. The point is that at the oil fields in Western Siberia, where we work, the pace of technical progress is significantly lower compared with that maintained in other economic sectors and even in the old oil extraction areas. Yet it is the opposite which should prevail, for the upkeep of every additional person in the north is quite costly to the state. Nevertheless, here advanced equipment and technology make their way all too slowly.

The present atmosphere prevailing in our lives does not allow us to continue our calm observation of events. Like all Soviet people, the Tyumen petroleum workers are studying the most important recent party documents with profound and total interest. They fully agree with one of the main conclusions drawn by the party on the basis of the study of contradictions which developed over the past 15 years in our social life, which is that a decisive turn to economic intensification and, therefore, to accelerated socioeconomic development, will not take place unless the pace of scientific and technical progress changes radically. The June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted that today all topical problems of the economy are focused precisely on machine building. This is a profound view coming directly from reality!

We personally have felt this fully. As long as the petroleum gushed out of the wells by itself, under the influence of the natural energy of the seams, even the petroleum workers did not think of technical progress as frequently as we should have. The harm of this attitude became clear when the gushes diminished somewhat and the natural energy had to be urgently boosted with the help of machines.

I have worked at the Samotlor oil fields since 1973. Let me mention first not the quality of the pipes and the pumps, although they too are important, but the extent to which progressive equipment facilitates the work of the people under harsh weather conditions. Here the changes which are taking place are insignificant. This is the opinion of all oil workers with whom I have discussed this problem.

It is true that in the past 2 years the drilling brigades have been moved directly to the center of the oil field which they will be servicing. Living facilities, where one could dry out, warm up and eat something consist of special assembled modules. The main working area of the oil worker, however, is under open skies. When the weather is good it is pleasant to move from one "cluster" of wells to another on dry land or on skis. However, this is the north. Snow storms and temperatures of minus 50 degrees are frequent. Understandably, one does not feel like walking at such times. Yet the wells must be inspected regardless of the weather: the level of automation, which I shall discuss later in greater detail, is clearly inadequate at present.

It is true that now a modified version of the UAZ motor vehicle was sent to the extraction brigades. However, after taking a close look at the vehicle, we saw that its body was designed by individuals who had no idea of the specific conditions under which the vehicles would be used. Most of the top is made of canvas. There are no seats but metal cases as though it is people made of metal who would be sitting there. There is no little writing table in the truck, although the wells require a great deal of paper work.

Ignoring the GAI prohibition, we are remaking the vehicle bodies. But why not do this at the plant? And why not manufacture a "northern" modification of the excellent Belarus tractor? There is no agrarian "monopoly" on this model. Such a tractor could be equipped with a well-made trailer which would contain welding equipment, the proper tools and three or four seats for the operators. We frequently are forced to stop the wells and urgently change the technological system. How can we do this without available tools? My suggestion does not come from thin air. In our brigade one such tractor has worked for the past 8 years without any capital repairs. Its cost was recovered in 1 month.

Many other examples could be cited proving that those who design the equipment rarely think of the person. How not to recall at this point that in our society it is the people themselves, regardless of production stipulations, that are the main value! The 27th CPSU Congress noted that it is by the fault of the central and local authorities that essentially the residual and totally unsuitable principle governing the allocation of resources for the development of the sociocultural area in production and life appeared. Such "forgetfulness" is simply unprofitable. The influence of the subjective factor is particularly strong in the petroleum industry. This is understandable, for here the level of automation is low and technical facilities let the people down frequently.

To the best of my knowledge, the Ministry of Petroleum Industry, Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building and Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems have been working on the basis of coordinated programs for the automation of the oil fields since the 1970s. A great deal may have been accomplished, but the necessary results were not achieved. Less than one-third of extraction brigades are equipped with instruments for recording the extracted petroleum; less than two-thirds of the water-pressure wells have flowmeters. What kind of cost accounting can there be if one of the main principles--record keeping--cannot be applied in full.

For the time being, the long efforts of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems have not led to the development of instruments to control basic extraction and control parameters. Identifying a well which has stopped producing is no longer a fast operation and the workers must act like real detectives. Group measuring systems of the Sputnik type have become morally obsolete. Their numerous structural shortcomings have turned them into the talk of the town among petroleum workers. Nevertheless, more such systems are being produced although scientists have developed more advanced new instruments.

If good automated equipment is lacking, it must be replaced with people. Instead of using control and protective systems for the pumps, separators and sedimentation tanks, which are the most frequently used devices in oil fields, Glavtyumenneftegaz employs a total of 2,000 workers. Preliminary estimates indicate that by the year 1990 the work of the deep pumps will have to be controlled by yet another 1,000 people. The dynamographs, which were designed for this purpose 25 years ago, have become hopelessly obsolete. They require huge labor outlays. Meanwhile, the new systems of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems are still under development.

I am not saying that no technical innovations ever reach the oil fields. But how useful can they be if along with an instrument or machine meeting the highest worldwide standards a unit developed 30 years ago will be used? Today even textbooks stipulate that the productivity and reliability of any system is determined by its weakest link. Therefore, it is the overall technology which must be improved, and not individual, albeit most important, units within it.

We know that after the June 1985 CPSU Central Committee conference on scientific and technical progress and, particularly, after M.S. Gorbachev visit to Tyumen Oblast, important decisions were made aimed at radically improving matters with petroleum extraction. Perhaps we, oil field workers, may be too impatient. Our conclusion, however, is the following: so far the only change has been that more of the traditional equipment has been received. Its standard has remained the same and manufacturing quality has improved only for a few items.

Statistics based on last year's results, submitted by the main administration's reliability service, are indicative. It turned out that acceptance control has rejected between 2 and 50 percent of all oil-drilling machines and units produced by Baku, Leningrad and Bashkir plants of the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building. Yet the list of technical facilities supplied to us is huge. More than 90 systems and machine units are used in repairing and servicing oil wells; basic types of equipment number almost 250. It is particularly alarming that in the course of our acceptance control 10 percent of the output of the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building bearing the Emblem of Quality is rejected. I believe that this is a major reason for the machine builders to undertake a decisive restructuring of the entire system of quality control management. Unfortunately, however, the machine building plants are concerned with how to ship faster to Siberia even items which our representatives have already rejected on the spot.

The CPSU Central Committee appeal to the working people of the Soviet Union contains a statement particularly pertinent to the current mood of Tyumen petroleum workers: one must struggle for high rates of economic growth and production efficiency, persistently and consistently. Recent practical experience has indicated most clearly that the use of internal reserves and strengthening order and discipline in the oil fields is the right way to correct the situation in the oil industry. Petroleum extraction has been substantially stabilized with the great help of the state. Today, however, we must take the next and even more important step which will ensure the steady increase in production. This cannot be achieved without the energetic support of the machine builders. We, petroleum workers, shall not fail.

Commentary by I. Ognev, Tyumen Oblast:

The letter by Foreman Yu. Paramonov makes it necessary, above all, to look closely at the relationship between equipment users and manufacturers: petroleum workers and machine builders. It would be improper for the entire blame for the currently rather low standard of scientific and technical progress in a key extracting industrial sector, as it has been universally

acknowledged, to fall only on designers of machines or planning agencies, although the errors made by Gosplan can be seen by the economists with the naked eye, as the saying goes. Let me cite a single example: according to the computations made by Academician A. Aganbegyan, capital investments allocated to consumers of petroleum extraction equipment are higher than those going to producers by a factor of 47. As was emphasized at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, shortcomings in investment policy have had a most adverse effect on the development and technical standards of domestic machine building. However, this is not the only reason for the tense situation which has now developed in Tyumen's oil fields.

A number of major internal reserves are not being used as required by the tasks which face the Tyumen petroleum workers in the 12th 5-year period. The CPSU Central Committee decree on the organizational and political work on the Nizhnevartovsk Party Gorkom on the implementation of state plans and socialist obligations for petroleum extraction provides a study of the major shortcomings in the activities of party committees and primary party organization buros which do not adequately use truly party methods of work with people and labor collectives. It also points out that for many years the managers of Nizhnevartovskneftegaz Association, relying on the wealth of the deposits, did not seriously undertake the application of advanced technology. It is not a question of the petroleum workers being timid in demanding the equipment they need or being weak in encouraging their machine building partners. I am convinced that demanding, even most persistently, is quite inadequate in terms of ensuring high pace of technical progress in petroleum extraction and petroleum machine building. One must also know what specifically to ask for. One must know not approximately, as has frequently happened and is happening, but thoroughly. In the language of specialists, the petroleum workers must, above all, themselves shape the technical policy in their sector. They must master systematically the entire set of technologies they need today and will be needing tomorrow, together with all branches of the "target tree." It is only then that the main technical administration of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry will be able to issue to developers of equipment, metallurgical workers, chemists and other partners absolutely clear and specific assignments.

But let us be objective. To some extent the petroleum workers brought this trouble upon themselves. As we know, the national economy does not as yet have a sufficiently efficient mechanism which allows consumers to influence producers. Here is one feature indicating the distorted aspect which this diktat by the producer has assumed: for a number of years there has been an unspoken prohibition operating at the Ministry of Chemical Machine Industry: sectorial scientific research institutes and design bureaus must not include in their plans work on new equipment developed by petroleum workers. This ban has been honored. For example, in order to pump the petroleum on internal pipelines the oil workers have had to adapt pumps developed for coal mining.

Yu. Paramonov has cited examples with which he is familiar to prove the results of such abnormal economic relations. Let us add the following to his observations: Is the universally known fact that by extracting petroleum we are dealing with nature and, more specifically, with nature in Siberia, taken into consideration today? This is by no means a rhetorical question. We have

virtually no specialized equipment for Siberia, not only for petroleum workers but for anyone else. For that reason alone, according to estimates made by the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department our economy is losing hundreds of millions of rubles every year. The funds lost in this manner would be more than sufficient as investments which would solve this problem once and for all.

Additional difficulties are involved in shipping technological supplies to Siberian oil fields.

The first is that two-thirds of the oil industry equipment used in all parts of the country without exception traditionally comes from plants in Azerbaijan. The southerners have long been unable to realize, for example, that wells in the vicinity of Baku and the area of the Middle Ob are two entirely different matters. Surgut oil workers described the amazement of representatives of Azinmash, which is the developer of oil extraction equipment, when under their own eyes, at a temperature of 50 degrees below zero, a sledgehammer which dropped on a piece of metal from a relatively low height broke into smithereens. Yet the equipment sent to the Siberian oil fields is precisely the same as the one going south! Is it amazing under such circumstances that underground well-repair brigades from Baku arriving in Tyumen Oblast for a tour of duty sometimes simply refuse to work with the equipment made by their countrymen?

The second difficulty is that the technology applied in the oil fields is frequently inconsistent with the specific circumstances and characteristics of entire groups of deposits. How much sand does the petroleum carry with it from the seam? What kind of salts and in what amounts are found in the petroleum? What is the content of the petroleum gas, paraffin, and others? The manufacturers of petroleum extraction equipment are quite unconcerned with such problems. The designers obviously assume that the negative effect of such local factors could be neutralized on-site. Alas, such is not the case. For example, for the past 20 years the Tyumen oil workers have been fighting so-called hydrate deposits in various pipes and to this day could hardly describe themselves as winners. Hundreds of wells remain idle for this reason for months and even years. Let us recall that each well has cost the state an average of 200,000 rubles. This is a price too steep to be ignored under specific Tyumen conditions!

Another feature of Western Siberian oil fields is that most wells are directional. The advantages of this structure, suggested by a group of Tyumen engineers, are well-known. They are that it is possible from a single dry base to drill a "cluster" of wells and thus drastically to reduce the length of all connections. Considering that the wells are drilled in swamps and in roadless areas, savings run into the millions of rubles.

That is fine. The trouble is that in order to drill such "slanted" wells which, furthermore, are grouped into "clusters," the traditional technology of single vertical shafts is not entirely suitable. For more than 10 years the petroleum workers kept asking the machine builders to develop a special system. It is true that immediately after Uralmash received the technical assignment it produced within an unusually short time--literally in 1 year--10



experimental models of a specialized system which it then began to produce serially.

Unfortunately, this time again a comprehensive solution of the problem was not achieved. As a result, the drilling workers received not a completed technological system for drilling "slanted" wells but merely one part of it--a drilling rig. Technological gaps remain. At this point we must mention some technical details. For example, systems for cleaning the drilling mud, which have been produced for many years at the Baku Machine Building Plant imeni Sardarov, include a vibrating screen the durability of which is shorter than stipulated in the technical specifications by a factor of 8. Naturally, this does not make it possible to achieve the necessary density of the solution. Yet practical experience indicates that if density deviates from the standard by five-hundredths (!) of 1 percent drilling indicators decline by 10-15 percent and outlays for chemical agents increase by 15-20 percent. Such are the seemingly petty matters which determine drilling efficiency.

Whatever its quality, a system for drilling "slanted" wells exists. But what about the special technologies applied in extracting petroleum from such wells?

It turns out that the petroleum workers themselves showed no concern for their development. They hoped to use the equipment for drilling vertical wells. The result? The best was that electric centrifugal pump systems were adapted for work at the Siberian oil fields. More than 40 percent of the mechanized wells are equipped with such systems. It is true that here as well a satisfactory durability along the entire technological chain was not achieved entirely. Thus, the engine and the power cable through which it receives its power are manufactured only by enterprises of the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry. However, the cable handles half of the necessary temperature and essentially performs the totally unplanned role of fuse for the engine used to extract the petroleum from the seam. The equipment manufacturers have also ignored Siberia's cold. The moment the mercury column drops below 30 degrees no one can touch this cable, for the entire insulation may break down.

A survey of the entire technology, from beginning to end, would reveal a large number of poorly fitting elements or that some parts are entirely missing. For example, to this day designers and engineers of the Ministry of Chemical Machine Building have still not developed a system which would protect that same cable from mechanical damage as it is dropped into or pulled out of the well. Understandably, in this case a slanted well is much more difficult to work with than a perpendicular one. In the past 18 months for that reason alone more than 600 wells of Glavtyumenneftegaz remained idle. It cost nearly 150 million rubles to reopen them. In 2 months alone petroleum losses totaled 750,000 tons. As we can see, the lack of a simple shielding system for the cable has been quite costly to the state. The fact that of late the reliability of the pump itself has improved is hardly a consolation.

It is thus that seemingly isolated technological faults turn into huge losses, both material and moral. Here is another clear proof of this fact: the system of electric centrifugal pumps we mentioned cannot be used in all

deposits and at all stages of their exploitation for a number of geological and other reasons. Yet industry is not producing for the petroleum workers the low-output pumps they need. Therefore, by the end of the 1970s, when the gushers in Western Siberia stopped yielding, it became necessary to use bottom rod pumps which were meant for vertical shafts, the rocking pumps familiar to all. This caused a number of still unsolved problems.

The straight rod pumps used in directional wells grate as a result of a stress higher than planned, for which reason they usually break down. For that reason nearly half of the repairs at the main administration are at wells equipped with such rocking pumps. The loose swampy soil on which the pumps are installed also contributes to the increased cost of petroleum extraction. As a result, 80 percent of the pumps produce at far below optimal capacity. An improperly operating machine can mean nothing but losses in terms of hours, tons and rubles. This invariably harms the reputation of the manufacturer and the self-esteem of the users of such machinery.

It is no secret that in recent years a large number of wells have stood idle in the west Siberian oil fields. One of the reasons is the low quality of underground repairs, for which the oil workers are blamed. But what if we look at the other side? In the past 5-year period the interval between repairs of wells equipped with electric centrifugal pumps doubled, although the indicator stipulated in the assignments--450 to 500 days--was not reached. In the directional wells equipped with rod pumps this indicator is 50 percent lower and has remained on the 1980 level. That is the reason for which the oil workers have to handle an avalanche of running repairs. Last year 25 percent of them were on wells equipped with rod pumps, although the share of such wells in the overall number is no more than 17 percent. What will be the situation of the oil workers this 5-year period, when the number of wells equipped with rod pumps will virtually double? In order to service them the workers will have to set up an additional 140 repair brigades. Where will the necessary people, housing and equipment come from?

Specialists are dreaming of the time when a specific petroleum extraction technology will be applied at each stage in the life of the deposit. It would be even better if the petroleum workers have at their disposal two flexible technologies, somewhat similar to the flexible automated production systems in machine building. In such cases, having lost minimal time in retuning, they could be used whatever the output of the well and be ready to deal with any complications caused by nature.

Such technologies already exist. A reciprocating hydraulic pump, manufactured by the Kobe Company, has been in use in Surgut for several years. It proved to be inordinately efficient in directional wells in which pumping jacks are currently used. Incidentally, parallel to the imported system a domestically manufactured one was used, with the difference that ours was experimental and the foreign was serially produced, although a reciprocating hydraulic pump is an old invention of ours. Experimental models of this pump were extensively tested in the Tatar and Bashkir oil fields as early as the 1960s. In vertical single wells, however, these pumps were inferior to the electric centrifugal pumps in terms of labor and material costs. And although the people of Tyumen by then were already engaged in drilling directional wells, they hastened to

abandon further work on the new development. Now, finally, they have remembered it. The 1985 target program of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology called for manufacturing an initial series of 30 such pumps. Only one was completed. Why? Because the Ministry of Chemical Machine Building was not given the production assignment at the proper time.

The reciprocating hydraulic pump is not the only system which can end once and for all the use of pumping jacks in unsuitable places. For the past 20 years specialists have been talking about jet pumps. Tests in Western Siberia indicated that such pumps are quite efficient. Both the reciprocating hydraulic and the jet pumps, which are the creation of scientific and technical progress, will be the main links in low-operation technological systems, the extensive use of which will enable us to lower outlays of all resources needed for equipping and operating oil fields. The point is to surmount sooner the grave shortage of advanced equipment, about which the oil workers are justifiably complaining.

Year after year the oil field workers are experiencing significant difficulties caused by the lack of necessary equipment at the stage of preliminary operations preceding preparatory work for the exploitation of new deposits. In order to develop such deposits hundreds of kilometers of foot boards must be laid. Yet no equipment is available for laying such boards on swamps or on an air cushion. The snow covering the winter roads, which stretch over hundreds of kilometers, is cleared by mounting on the vehicles customized tri-squares made of pipes. On the sides of such extremely narrow roads where two vehicles traveling in opposite directions cannot pass, both speed and traffic safety suffer. A coordinated document has been drawn up as a work program for the creation and manufacturing of equipment needed by the oil field workers.

However, according to a number of specialists, this document does not include the main factor: a comprehensive target-program approach to the technological equipment of the oil fields. Even on paper the technology for oil extraction does not appear to be a unified system with closely interrelated units. Assignments for individual machines and machine units have been simply distributed among producing sectors. Is it astonishing that some technological parts have become lost in the shuffle or have simply been forgotten in the web of departmental barriers? The cost of such "forgetfulness" we already mentioned.

Judging by what we know, nor does such a program promise radical improvements in the quality of oil extraction technology. Having formulated the tempting objective of achieving the best world standards, the authors of the document appear to have followed the worn-out path of "sliding evolution," by essentially intending to improve what is already there. Furthermore, in addition to everything else, most experimental prototypes are expected to appear not before the end of the 5-year period.

During the 12th 5-year period the machine builders are scheduled to complete a tremendous amount of important work to solve the problems set at the 27th Party Congress. They were concretized in the materials of the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which reemphasized the key significance of machine

building in the technical reconstruction of the national economy. We believe that in the light of these tasks the oil workers should not adopt a stance of passive expectation. They must urgently undertake the active formulation of their own technical policy. This is particularly consistent with the nature of the contemporary role of the consumer, dictated by the strategy of acceleration, with the initiated reorganization of economic relations. The more energetically and the more profoundly the petroleum workers undertake it, the more efficient will the work of the Tyumen oil fields become.

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## EVERYTHING WITHIN MAN -- EVERYTHING FOR MAN

### INTENSIFYING THE HUMAN FACTOR AND STRUGGLING FOR A SOBER WAY OF LIFE

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[Article by S. Sheverdin, editor-in-chief of the journal TREZVOST I KULTURA]

[Text] The implementation of the party's plans for the accelerated socioeconomic development of our country presumes the increased role of man, the enhancement of his cultural standards and development of his social activeness. This inevitably puts on the agenda the task of struggling against drunkenness and alcoholism and for the assertion of a sober way of life.

Such a party- and nation-wide struggle demands, above all, a firm rebuff of the established groundless views on drunkenness and alcoholism as an inevitable and insurmountable evil. What are the sources of such pessimism? Not least, they reside in the difficulties which arise in the implementation of the May 1985 resolutions and the organization of a mass anti-alcohol movement. This is confirmed, in particular, by the mail received by the Central Council of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety and the journal TREZVOST I KULTURA.

We consider the elimination of drunkenness one of the necessary conditions for the advancement of socialism. As the new draft of the CPSU program adopted at the 27th Party Congress stipulates, the party ascribes prime significance to the solution of this problem. However, this was hindered, and continues to be hindered, by prejudices and errors and concepts inherited from the past to the effect that "vodka is needed for the budget," and the threat of moonshine as the allegedly inevitable cost of reducing the production and sale of alcoholic beverages.

The arguments in favor of increasing state trade in alcohol played their fatal role more than 60 years ago and the study of the events of those years is quite relevant today, for reducing the production and sale of alcoholic beverages is the most important part of the policy of surmounting drunkenness, pursued in accordance with the May party and government decree. As a whole (by consolidating the sum of economic, social, administrative, ideological and other steps), it is a system of radically limiting the offer of alcoholic beverages and demand for them. Each side of this strategy, we believe, should be considered separately.

The need to sell alcoholic beverages to the population for the sake of gaining revenue was substantiated in 1924 as follows: either being in bondage to capitalism or establishing a wine monopoly. Monopoly on alcoholic beverages was considered the lesser of two evils.

To what extent is such a view justified today? Let us try to answer this question by determining, to begin with, Lenin's attitude toward alcohol monopoly. We turn to Lenin's letter dated 13 October 1922 in which Vladimir Ilich expressed his views regarding two monopolies: foreign trade and alcohol (see Poln. Sobr. Soch. [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, pp 220-223).

The opponents of foreign trade monopoly formulated objections entirely identical to arguments in favor of alcohol monopoly. They referred, for example, to the threat of increased smuggling (analogous to moonshine and bootlegging!). Thus, in 1921 the Gosbank board approved rules relative to monetary circulation which, in particular, included the demand for an urgent review of foreign trade policy. "The policy of excessive concentration of foreign trade," the theses stipulated, "has brought about the blossoming of extensive smuggling." Good prospects for increasing state income were depicted by levying customs fees on a variety of export and import operations. From the point of view of economic pragmatism, always concealed behind realism, this was most adequate. However, Lenin, the great realist and daring dreamer, defended foreign trade monopoly, above all for political reasons but also by predicting that "it will yield tens of millions of rubles or even more than that" (ibid., p 221).

Lenin concludes his letter (except for the ritual ending) as follows: "We have begun to rely on a gold income through foreign trade. I see no possibility other than alcohol monopoly. However, in this case... we are facing most serious moral considerations..." (ibid., p 223).

Noteworthy in this excerpt are the following: a. The mention of vodka monopoly is accompanied by a reference to "most serious moral considerations;" b. It is mentioned only in connection with the problem of income in gold and not as an instrument for budget revenue.

Let us be objective: the situation during the first years of the Soviet system called for maximally high rates of industrialization of the country. The desire to build socialism "sooner" was quite high and entirely understandable under the conditions of the time. However, those who had accepted the "exceptional and temporary measure," as vodka was described, clearly lacked the salutary mistrust of any hasty advance, as Lenin had advised in his latest works.

From the purely pragmatic viewpoint, monopoly on alcohol "operated" quite enterprisingly. With its help the state won the struggle for cash and the budget revenue immediately increased by half a billion rubles. However, in the final account, increased alcohol consumption led to a drop in labor productivity which, as Yu. Iarin, chairman of the All-Union Council of Anti-Alcohol Societies, noted, was more than 5 percent in 1929. The value of goods which had not been produced as a result of this was assessed, according to a computation endorsed by the Gosplan, at 600 million rubles or one half of the

losses caused the national economy as a result of the extensive sales of alcoholic beverages. On that basis, the Gosplan commission considered "unquestionable the fact that income from alcoholic beverages cannot in the future represent any kind of efficient source of accumulations for the state from the national economic viewpoint."

Unfortunately, as a rule nearsighted pragmatism does not consider references to the future authoritative. Furthermore, its supporters at that time could cite the fact that the national economy of the country was developing steadily. However, this was occurring thanks to factors organically related to the nature of the new social system, despite the vodka monopoly. The main feature which concealed the damage caused by alcohol was the exceptionally active recruitment of new manpower in the economy.

Unquestionably, wages are a very efficient means of stimulating labor output. However, if cash is converted into alcoholic beverages one way or another, which lower labor productivity, a vicious circle develops which becomes increasingly difficult to break. It is difficult even to imagine all the negative socioeconomic consequences which we later encountered as a result of the development of a mass habit among people to consume alcoholic beverages. By the turn of the 1980s, selective studies had shown that nearly 37 percent of working men were drinking excessively, compared with 11 percent in 1925.

Whereas decades ago this could still be explained somewhat through petty bookkeeping, according to which the sale of alcohol may be dirty but nevertheless profitable, today, considering the exhaustion of extensive economic management factors, it no longer has any justification whatsoever.

Computing alcohol-related income and expenditures is senseless also from the viewpoint of Marxist economic theory. In the light of its basic stipulations, the danger and intolerance of the existence of the notorious "alcohol supplement" to the budget and in the system of socialist reproduction as a whole, is particularly clear. Let us recall in this connection Marx's thought that health is the most important factor in the preservation of manpower and the familiar Marxist-Leninist stipulations to the effect that the objective of socialist reproduction is the improved well-being and the free and comprehensive development of all members of society. This determines the "lower" and "upper" causal and purposeful limits of admissibility of one means of economic management or another and axiomatic restrictions are imposed: 1. On weakening the main productive force of society; 2. On producing a notoriously harmful item--alcohol--instead of beneficial and useful products.

Such prohibitions may seem adequate. If they are violated, the accurate forecast of all possible consequences and losses require no estimates whatsoever, for the stupefying dimensions of such losses are clear. However, the supporters of the preservation of the drinking status quo long ago imposed upon us to "play according to their own rules," for which reason some essential remarks are needed concerning the arithmetic of drinking.

It is considered, for example, that for each ruble earned from the sale of alcoholic beverages 1.5 - 3 rubles are lost in production work because of drunkenness. This argument of the unsuitability of keeping alcohol stands

open has already been of good service to anti-alcoholic propaganda. However, the defenders of the "alcoholic supplement" do not surrender. They refuse to compute the cash earnings (i.e., paper money!) from the trade in alcohol, on the one hand, and the harm caused by its production and consumption, on the other. Actually, they believe that by increasing the retail prices of alcoholic goods by, shall we say, ten times, the new balance could show the advantage of the trade in alcohol. The point, precisely, is that it will not.

The total cash earnings from alcohol and the overall harm caused by alcohol are noncomparable. This noncomparability is an argument against this notorious addition rather than for it. For the concept of the loss of products and "useful" objects and "items in kind" in rubles is a conventional view. Actually, the loss "in physical terms" and of time which could be socially useful cannot be compensated by any amount of money.

Let us consider the six million tons of grain which were annually used at the beginning of the 1980s for the manufacturing of alcohol and beer (excluding the millions of tons of potatoes, sugar beets, etc.). In terms of money the loss is not all that great, for a ton of grain averages slightly more than 100 rubles and a kilogram slightly more than 10 kopeks. Our multibillion budget could absorb this loss. Meanwhile, the country has still not solved the food problem. The tens of millions of tons of grain and other crops converted into alcohol in the past, handled more sensibly, would have already now added to our tables additional kilograms of food products. At this point a computation would be proper: it would indicate that scientific norms of consumption of meat and dairy items would have been the first to be reached.

It is entirely obvious that the durable and stable existence of the "alcohol addition" is closely related to a certain discrimination among consumer values in the system of our economic orientations and determinants, violating Marx's law of the quantity of paper money needed in circulation. Restoring the priority which by right (the right of socialism) belongs to the concept of usefulness and consumer value in the hierarchy of economic categories is important in general. It is also important in terms of the problem under consideration, for it totally deprives of any kind of illusory grounds the preservation within the production area of "harmful items" such as alcohol, however highly developed their ability to "pursue the ruble" may be.

It is pertinent to recall that the old-school financiers quite bitingly mocked in the 1920s the noted Soviet economist S. G. Strumilin, describing his suggestions on the planned control of monetary circulation as the naive considerations of a simpleton. However, the suggestions of the scientist were related to the possibility of planned control of monetary circulation based on the needs of trade which appeared, for the first time, under socialism. This was mentioned by Lenin in one of his notes dated December 1921 (the NEP had already been introduced and the marketplace was operative!). Vladimir Ilich wrote to Ye. A. Preobrazhenskiy the following:

"Could the following two things be done:

"1. Compute for the entire RSFSR on a weekly (monthly to start with) the following:



"a. the amount of goods at the disposal of the state (trade fund);

"b. the amount of paper money.

"2. Experimentally, issue in one or two uyezds (perhaps through cooperative establishments?) exchange coupons fully backed by commodities?" (op. cit. vol 54, p 97). The order in which both hypostases are placed in this brief sketch of commodity-monetary circulation is characteristic.

The budget, taken by itself (i.e., as a department) is, unfortunately, omnivorous although when we speak of a socialist budget omnivorousness conflicts with its nature. For that reason the "alcohol addition" to our state budget should be considered and evaluated as an inset alien to socialism. This assessment is also a manifestation of the political approach to the problem the solution of which demands radical steps.

Those who oppose precisely such radical steps aimed at truly uprooting drunkenness and alcoholism, the supporters of halfway measures, the "opponents-supporter," who present caution as wisdom and uninspired pragmatism as realism, usually list as the inevitable costs of abandoning the "alcohol addition" two considerations: 1. The fact that moonshine will become widespread which, on the one hand, will preserve drunkenness and, on the other, will reduce to naught the beneficial consequences of a drastic curtailing of state alcohol sales; 2. The money which the state earns thanks to trade in alcoholic beverages will go to illegal alcohol producers and merchants.

Any reference to the danger of moonshine and its possible expansion should alcohol monopoly not be resumed, a monopoly which played its negative role as early as 1924, is obviously groundless. The consumption of homemade vodka at that time was lower than the per capita consumption of state produced vodka in 1913 (i.e., until the "dry law" was introduced) by a factor of 6 for the majority of Russian guberniyas and by a factor of 12 for Vladimir Guberniya and even a factor of 25 for the Moscow industrial district. Consumption of homemade vodka substantially increased between 1925 and 1928, when the state spirit monopoly was restored. "We conscientiously deluded ourselves 5 years ago, by considering that vodka would eliminate moonshine," noted Yu. Iarin in this connection in 1929. "We know now, however, that the blade of our weapon was dull: one devil does not knock another out."

Today the question of who was mistaken in good conscience and who accepted a one-sidedly understood expediency, i.e., pragmatism and narrow-mindedness, and readiness to "roll in the dirt" allegedly for the sake of socialism in allowing the establishment of vodka monopoly is of purely historical value. Objectively, it was a tremendous social evil for us.

"Common sense" and "pious intentions" notwithstanding, at that time state trade did not lower illegal alcohol sales, nor could it, in general. Why? First of all, because one cannot lower the amount of drunkenness while at the same time cultivating alcohol consumption through state sales.

Second, because in moonshining and bootlegging, i.e., the resale of governmental alcohol products, legal sales act also as a kind of "camouflaging background." Conversely, the lack of such a background, particularly under contemporary conditions, would deprive the moonshine and bootlegging industries of the possibility of surviving and defeating a sobriety system.

Let us note that views on the lack of a "camouflaging background" and of a regime of sobriety are by no means academic concerns. Such a regimen is potentially present in the policy which is already being implemented in the course of the planned "drying out" of alcohol sales and in the activities of the All-Union Voluntary Society in the Struggle for Sobriety and the development of a mass sobriety movement.

In assessing the possibility and efficiency of such a strategy, we use the method of historical analogy. We turn to the indicative local and regional experiments with the application of a "dry" and "semi-dry" systems and a more or less similar system, the so-called dry law within national boundaries (this terminology is a concession to linguistic tradition, for it would be better to speak of a "sobriety law"). We can confidently predict success and prevent failure in the application of the "dry law" while remembering Marx's wise thought that events which may be strikingly similar but taking place under different circumstances lead to totally different results (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 121).

In their study of the "drinking process" between 1914 and 1928 and, in particular, the then revealed trend of the "sliding" of drunkenness into the way of life of the toiling masses, which led to a jump immediately after the introduction of vodka monopoly, researchers of the ways of struggling against the evil of alcohol distinguished between sobering up and sobriety, something which should be taken into consideration today as well.

Sobering up is relatively simple. Sobriety and its consolidation are significantly more difficult. This empirically obtained conclusion can and must be developed in the light of scientific views on the laws governing the appearance and development of social phenomena. It is precisely thus: drunkenness, like any other social phenomenon, cannot be abolished. It can be surmounted or "outlived," as Lenin wrote, taking into consideration prejudices and customs which have sunk roots in the masses (see op. cit., vol 37, p 321).

The initial ecstasy created by the "prohibition" of 1914 or, more accurately, the temporary halt to the production and free sale of alcoholic beverages, brought about mass sobering up, subsequently replaced by concern and, finally, understanding that stopping the sale of the source of intoxication should be accompanied by most intensive efforts to promote the standards of a sober way of life, the culture of sobriety. The generation contaminated by alcohol by the turn of the century carried this disease into the new life. Thus, a survey of the rural population made in 1923 - 1924 indicated, in the words of the study, that "the majority of peasants are unaware of the danger of moonshine and display a sympathetic attitude toward it."

During the first years of forced sobering up nothing or very little was done to eliminate the roots of drunkenness. Furthermore, intensified exploitation,

the "blood" tax paid up front and the excise tax, which soon reached the level of the alcohol tax of 1913, could only discredit in the eyes of the masses the idea of sobering up as a means of improving life.

In order to understand the interconnection between mass demand for alcoholic products and the supply of the same, suffice it to be familiar with the overall laws of supply and demand which were comprehensively described by Marx: "Production goes ahead of demand and supply conquers demand" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 4, p 101). He also said that "...production creates consumption as follows: 1. By producing the necessary material for it; 2. By determining the consumption method; 3. By developing in the consumer the need for the product it creates" (op. cit., vol 46, part I, p 29). These concepts, which are considered axiomatic by Marxist social scientists, are nevertheless disputed by a number of individuals writing about drunkenness and alcoholism. For example, it is claimed that according to socioeconomic laws, the production and sale of one commodity or another is based on public demand and Adam Smith is quoted as the authoritative source of this concept.

The currently applied consistent course of eliminating alcohol production is dictated by the materialistic understanding of its significance in the elimination of drunkenness. However, this alone is insufficient. On a parallel basis we must promote the elimination of established habits and prejudices. This is not a spontaneous and uncontrolled process, for which reason it requires the persistent organization of a mass sobriety movement.

Finally, the most important thing, which the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and resolutions on the struggle against drunkenness particularly emphasize, is the all-round development of the social sphere, culture, sports, the organization of the people's way of life and recreation, the strict observance of the principle of social justice and the creation of conditions for the all-round development of self-management and for the full realization of the people's capabilities and talents. It is a question, therefore, of the systematic embodiment of the principles and ideals of socialism as the most just and historically progressive form of social system today, in which drunkenness, which stupefies and corrupts people and which deprives them of their strength and removes them from social life, is an alien phenomenon which conflicts with the basic interests of the people.

In this connection, we inevitably recall Lenin's idea expressed in his talk with K. Tsetkin. In her recollection, "Lenin jumped, banged on the table and paced around the room.

" 'The revolution demands of the masses, of the individual, the concentration and stressing of efforts. It does not tolerate orgiastic conditions....The proletariat is the ascending class. It does not need intoxication to deafen or excite it.... It draws its strongest motivations for the struggle from the status of its class, from the communist ideal. It needs clarity, clarity, and again, clarity. That is why, I repeat, there should be no weakness, no waste or destruction of strength'" ("V. I. Lenin o Kommunisticheskoy Nравstvennosti" [V. I. Lenin on Communist Morality]. Moscow, 1985, p 271). These words express firm belief in the historical substantiation of sobriety and its intrinsic affiliation with socialism and communism.

The supporters of the preservation of the drinking status quo could, naturally, object that certain conditions must be made available in order to uproot drunkenness. For Engels himself, as we know, noted that a "tragic clash is possible between a historically necessary demand and the practical impossibility of its implementation" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 29, p 495). However, it is a question precisely of the fact that in our case this tragic clash indicated by Engels is not present. We have all the social, economic, political and ideological prerequisites for achieving a radical sobering up of the country. This is theoretically and practically irrefutable. One small thing is lacking: for the subject of the social action to prove itself on the level of the task.

In order to achieve this, it is necessary above all to maintain the naturalness of the sobriety movement, which was clearly manifested at the stage of its spontaneous development, even before the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety (VDOBT) was established. It is important to preserve this quality without falling into the type of arrogant official and categorical rejection of spontaneity, in the course of which it is forgotten that it is indicative not only of the immaturity of the movement but, as Lenin always pointed out, of its substantiation, depth, naturalness and even inevitability.

Characteristically, several hundred sobriety clubs (anti-Bacchus clubs) which had already appeared exclusively thanks to the initiative of scattered groups and, as a rule, were headed by physicians specializing in drug addiction, were essentially able to become part of the contemporary movement of the primary VDOBT organizations. Occasionally, they are even entitled to primogeniture, playing the role of "yeast" and setting an example of a sober way of life while, at the same time, allowing public activities to develop on a broader range. For the sake of justice we must acknowledge that the central council of the society quite frequently comes, on the one hand, against cases which fall into sectarian club boastfulness, claiming that the true teetotallers are we and we alone; on the other, it comes against the groundless ideas of some managers of local councils of the society who consider that clubs such as associations of teetotallers are anachronistic.

We believe that it is still too early to pass final judgment, for the primary organizations of the society, which are being created at enterprises and places of residence, are merely taking their first steps and have still not truly stood up on their feet. Unquestionably, however, they are the highest, most mature and combat capable form of a mass movement for the elimination of drunkenness and the assertion of sobriety. Let us more clearly say that it is precisely they that are the only suitable method of solving such very difficult problems.

The establishment of the all-union society led to the fact that today the sobriety movement has more than 10 million members and hundreds of thousands of primary organizations, which are becoming capable of handling the matter, unlike the previously small and most frequently exclusive groups of teetotallers. For example, the all-union campaign "For Efficient Work and a Healthy Way of Life" alone, the most energetic of whose participants were members of the primary VDOBT organizations, exposed from the very first months

tens of thousands of violations of anti-alcohol government decrees and helped in the prompt elimination of the most obvious shortcomings.

Today the struggle for setting and actually proclaiming areas and periods of sobriety ("dry" territories and days) is an important, and perhaps the main project of the organization. However, as practical experience indicates, this is not such a simple matter as may appear to some initiators of prohibition decrees pertaining to rural and settlement rallies. Such prohibitions, unsupported by efficient educational work, frequently create the appearance of success on their territory where the sale of alcoholic beverages has been stopped, but which increases the per capita consumption of alcohol and the number of customers of sobering-up establishments in the neighboring settlement or rayon, where no such prohibition was imposed and where drinkers from the "sobriety zone" go.

Naturally, such local "drying up" directives prove ineffective unless good initiatives are supported by major organizational work by the corresponding local councils of the society, or if the work is done more on paper than in reality, and the members of the society are more pro forma as well. Unfortunately, many reports received by the VDOBT Central Council and by TREZVOST I KULTURA proved that in the creation of primary organizations and cells of the society and in recruiting new members for them the principles of voluntary and autonomous participation are violated. In a number of areas a trend toward excessive organization has been noted, which is an even worse enemy of any true movement than lack of organization, for which reason it is so firmly condemned by the party.

Overorganization is the most harmful form of disorganization, for it creates a purely superficial structure, alien to a real mass movement, and can only draw forces away, while a true movement for sobriety remains without support and, in many cases, turns out to be "rudderless" and "sailless." For example, what is the usefulness of the "grandiose" idea of the Kazakhstan republic council of the society of establishing a so-called anti-alcohol passport on all levels, ranging from the labor collective to the republic, which was recently condemned by the VDOBT Central Council and the AUCCTU! In all likelihood, a great deal of effort was invested in drafting this "work:" vertically, it consisted of 440 questions! Is it astonishing that the personnel of some of the oblast councils were unable to visit the primary organizations even once in the 6 months which followed the organization of the society in Kazakhstan?

The party's leadership is a main prerequisite for the efficiency of the sobriety movement. This is a question not of issuing directives by party bodies but of the truly vanguard role which the communists must play in the struggle for sobriety. The communists must be the first fighters for sobriety. In the opposite case at least two harmful consequences become inevitable: 1. A weakening, a decapitation of the mass sobriety movement; 2. The undermining of the party's authority, for it has assumed to the entire people the obligation of curbing the evil of drinking. By asserting sobriety as the law of our life, the party sets the task of consolidating it as a universal standard. However, that which is propagandized as a standard for all becomes the obligation of the political vanguard which has assumed the responsibility of implementing timely social changes.

The party members have no right to hesitate when it comes to setting the example of sobriety and in the struggle for sobriety. This is a social necessity. How not to recall here Lenin's words which, although expressed on a different subject, are entirely applicable in our case: "... in order to help those who hesitate one must stop hesitating oneself" (op. cit., vol 34, p 409). Nevertheless, the condition of the social mentality of a significant percentage of the population could be described today precisely as being somewhat hesitant. On the one hand, drunkenness is virtually unanimously condemned and rejected. On the other, there is inability and unreadiness to abandon "moderate" drinking and in "small doses." The example set by the political vanguard and its ability to present the case for sobering up clearly, intelligibly, scientifically and consistent with the objective laws of social development is of exceptional importance in surmounting this hesitant, yes, precisely, hesitant, status.

It seems incredibly but a fact that such an exceptionally widespread social phenomenon was ignored and is still lacking proper attention on the part of social scientists. The lack of a uniform anti-alcohol concept has enabled and still does some people arbitrarily to boast of minor results of scattered individual studies and a display of a haughty attitude toward mass public opinion which, in recent years, has been directed ever more clearly toward the adoption of radical and decisive steps against drunkenness. Furthermore, we must see in the moral consciousness of the masses a reflection of the objective truth and always remember that the scientific interpretation of any social phenomenon could trail behind its moral approval or condemnation.

The scientific support of the current sobriety movement is still below its requirements and remains its weakest spot. Actually, the production and sale of alcoholic products by the state and cooperative sectors are being rapidly curtailed (by one third in the first half of 1986). The mass sobriety movement is strengthening. Thanks to the efficient programmatic party documents it has adequate ideological support. The base for mass education is also developing, which is one of the objectives of the publication of TREZVOST I KULTURA. One should not hope that the level and scientific support of the struggle against drunkenness will greatly advance in the immediate future. To begin with, the reason is that in order to surmount such a lagging, mere wish and good will are insufficient. Secondly, because both the nature of and the reasons for the drinking traditions as a whole are entirely social and the levers for curbing such traditions are also entirely social. The traditions of social science in the study of the laws of alcoholism and drunkenness are extremely weak. This situation must be urgently corrected. Our society, faced with the worsening of the alcohol problem at a time when the need for further development imperatively demands the accelerated pace of social change and the full mobilization of the human factor, can wait no longer.

Naturally, there will be and already is a reorganization. The implementation of a sober way of life has been initiated, for the need for it is great, topical and, finally, realized. It is also obvious, however, that the solution of a profound social contradiction such as "drinking" cannot be accomplished without a price. It is important, however, to avoid unnecessary losses caused by the inadequacy of the means used in solving the real contradiction.

One of the problems is the waiting lines for vodka. Some people consider this even a refutation of the law of the primacy of supply over demand. However, it is entirely clear that this temporary phenomenon is caused only by the fact that the sharp reduction in the sale of alcoholic beverages (in Moscow in particular) was not supported by respective and mandatorily anticipatory efforts to develop the sobriety movement. The demand for alcohol, which was shaped by the previous intensive offer, remains by the force of inertia, for in order to reduce supply all one has to do is punch the "stop" button of the bottling conveyor belt. A pathological addiction to alcohol has no such button. Today this addiction must be intensively reduced through the intensification and broadening of the sobriety movement. The lines can be eliminated either by defeating or surrendering to it, i.e., by satisfying the thirst of the consumers who are also the victims of the old drinking booth. Obviously, the second path, which may seem possible and expedient and realistic to some, is unacceptable. At the present time, turning back, i.e., making supply consistent with demand, would mean substantially increasing the cost of the sobering-up process. Such a retreat from the course would only strengthen the groundless idea that drunkenness is an inevitable and insurmountable phenomenon.

If the line at the drinking counter is related to the cost of the struggle for sobriety, the system of controlling and limiting alcohol consumption, applied in a number of parts of the country appears initially, as a rule, to be free or virtually free from such outlays, one of the reasons for which is the elimination of the lines. In this case, however, what is neglected (usually from ignorance) is historical experience and, in particular, the results of the use of the so-called Bratt system in Sweden. Nor is the clear internal contradiction of this strategy noticed. It is that any norming and, therefore, legalizing of alcohol consumption discredits the main slogan of the movement of "Sobriety Is the Norm (and Even Law!) of Life," thus sanctifying through the authority of the system a certain "measure" of alcohol drinking, assumedly harmless, since it has been permitted!

This deideologizes the struggle for sobriety which must inevitably become total. This is indicated by the experience in Kirov Oblast, which was described in the press. A right to a vodka coupon (a booklet of coupons and orders for the purchase of a bottle according to a list -- there are variants of the system) is granted only ... to people considered worthy, socially and morally reliable. This increases the prestige of drinking whereas, conversely, the prestige of sobriety should be strengthened which, it turns out, is instead being penalized!

Pragmatism, however, ignores ideological costs. It is so to say free from sentimentality but nor is it distinguished by its farsightedness. By depriving "unworthy" and "unreliable" people of the right to purchase alcohol and restricting their possibility to drink and thus lowering the number of visible manifestations of gross drunkenness and triggering a tolerance in the unperceptive observer, unfamiliar with the laws of the process, such "restrictive" pragmatism leads the drinking process into the stage of concealed (latent) development, in the course of which the temporarily successful consumers turn into alcoholics.

A theoretical lack of preparedness opens to primitive means of attacking the "green monster" the door to the arsenal of the struggle for sobriety. In his time, in explaining the relative success of Bakunin's views, Engels wrote that one could memorize in 5 minutes a few simple slogans. Is this not the reason for which the system of controlling and restricting alcohol consumption is considered by some as just about the cure for all evils?

Yet a more sensible way of fighting drunkenness exists. In Ulyanovsk Oblast, for example, where in 1 year alcohol consumption has decreased by more than one half, efforts are made to ensure a "balance" between restriction and prohibition measures and the sobriety movement of the masses. Violations of the concept that sobriety is the law and standard of our life are not allowed.

The system applied by the people of Ulyanovsk involves the dialectics of subjective and objective factors for sobering up. Unfortunately, such experience has still not been theoretically interpreted. Once again this proves the scientific lack of support of the struggle for sobriety taking place in the country. At numerous meetings, conferences and seminars held currently, the organizers of the sobriety movement keep hearing the persistent demand to the movement's leadership and the journal TREZVOST I KULTURA: "Give us methods, recommendations, aids!" Such demands can be easily understood: applied knowledge always seems more necessary and its applicability more tangible. Yet the struggle for sobriety, waged without adequate theoretical knowledge concerning its objectives and laws is fraught with the danger of pragmatism with all the costs that the latter entails. Alas, anti-alcohol theory -- let us not avoid definitions -- scientific anti-alcoholism -- is still not in a hurry to appear.

Time, however, does not wait. It imperatively asserts the truth that the enhancement of the human factor is impossible without a systematic and persistent struggle for a sober way of life. This means that without such a struggle the strategy of acceleration, in which the human factor is decisive, may be threatened!

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## Man of the New World: Concerns, Ideals, Values

### NIKOLAY MAMELCHUK'S RESPONSIBILITIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 72-75

[Article by A. Medushchenko]

[Text] When, answering the appeal of our party, union republics, including the Ukraine, went to the aid of the pioneers of the Tyumen north, big construction organizations from Kiev, Kharkov, Donetsk, Poltava and other cities moved to the pre-polar swampy forest tundra. Considering the exceptional importance of the assignment, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee decided to create the position of Central Committee party organizer at the most crucial sectors.

There were only two of them in the Tyumen north and I was able to spend several days with one of them, Nikolay Danilovich Mamelchuk, in the city of Noyabrsk, at the Ukrtyumendorstroy Trust.

Nikolay Danilovich is already elderly, past fifty. He grew up during the Great Patriotic War. After the war came training in secondary school, tekhnikum and institute. He held party and economic positions. In the past few years he has held senior positions at the republic's Ministry of Construction and Highway Maintenance and headed the party organization at the Kievgorstroytrans Trust. Mamelchuk's character features were taken into consideration when he was being considered for the position of Central Committee party organizer for the north: thoughtful, principle-minded, able rapidly to find a common language with people, able to adapt to the new situation and to make accurate decisions under most unexpected situations.

After signing Mamelchuk's certificate, V. V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, personally gave Nikolay Danilovich his instructions. What he remembered most was the main one: to eliminate, above all in the party members and, subsequently, in every working person, the mentality of being a "temporary worker." Yes, the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug is not the Ukraine and Noyabrsk is not Kiev. However, Yamal is also part of our big homeland and there the representatives of the republic must feel like owners and not like indifferent contractors.

Many are those who go to the northern areas "for a time," for 2 or 3 years, to make money. That is why what matters to them most is earnings. Two norms, three norms... and the fact that after felling a tree good pine and spruce

logs are left behind to rot is no big deal. The fact that the railroad embankment gradually crumbles, not being covered with turf or not planted in trees is no concern of theirs. The fact that around them lie suitable bricks or piles of concrete sunk in the swamps does not matter. The country is rich.

Long before his trip to the North, Nikolay Danilovich heard the sad joke that if one is looking for pipes and construction materials let him go to the new construction projects in Siberia. Heaps of such items may be found there. Some construction organizations and subdivisions ordered such materials in the past to have them as a reserve, should they be needed.... But then the project was completed and what to do with the surplus materials? Nothing. The swamp will absorb them. We have done our work, the rest is not our business.

Party Central Committee, Mamelchuk was elected secretary of the party organization of the Ukrtyumendorstroy Trust. Now, by virtue of his position he was answerable to the city party committee and the supreme party body of the Ukraine. As he began to study the situation, he found out that even before his arrival a great deal had been done here in terms of the thrifty and concerned attitude toward resources and nature. The city party organization and the soviet of people's deputies were waging a decisive struggle against the mentality of carelessness and indifference. The visitor of Noyabrsk is impressed by the concerned attitude toward nature. The bright 5-storey homes are surrounded by woods, which have been turned into parks and boulevards. Yet preserving trees in construction was quite complicated, for this hindered the approach to the sites and slowed down the pace. Nevertheless, the construction proceeded as it should.

Filipp Stanislavovich Zakordonets, manager of the Ukrtyumendorstroy Trust, who had been in the Tyumen north from the very first days of its development, was an active, thinking and concerned person. Nikolay Danilovich found it easy to work with him. Zakordonets introduced him to the work, and described the conditions under which roads are being laid. The earth for the roadbed is poured in winter, when the swamps are frozen and the slabs are laid on top of the dirt in summer.

"How reliable is this?" Mamelchuk asked. "We are both road workers and we know that the causeway must settle and compress. This takes time."

"Yes, a minimum of 6 months," Zakordonets agreed. "One year is even better. During that time the roadway becomes thoroughly settled and in some places caves in. More dirt must be poured in such areas and the good quality of the road is ensured. However, we have no such time at our disposal. Deadlines, deadlines...."

"Nevertheless, the reliability must be ensured," firmly said Mamelchuk.

On that occasion they had a long discussion. In the final account, they agreed on an idea suggested by Zakordonets: gradually, during the winter, to pour more dirt than was needed, thus developing a kind of reserve embankment. This "surplus" which would remain less than a year would make the roadway so firm that the norm for laying the roadway in the summer will be covered in full. The plan would be fulfilled and the quality would improve.

Mamelchuk summoned an expanded meeting of the trust party committee, to which the secretaries of the party organizations of the construction and installation trains, the party group organizers and the active party members were invited. Many of them were doubtful: could this be done? Essentially, it represented two annual norms! The excess ground would delay the laying of the slabs, additional expenditures would occur....

This was the psychological "hitch!" All the people could think of was the plan and the plan only. Others, although not mentioning it openly, thought as follows: "It is not we who will be laying slabs on the spare sections with well-settled roadways. By then we would be gone. Why work for someone else?"

Nevertheless, Mamelchuk was able to talk them into it, and to convert many of them to his idea.

"It is not a question of a short campaign," he said. "It is not a question of making this spare roadway immediately. We shall make it gradually. Let us approach this matter in a party manner, let us find reserves and stress our efforts. Once the necessary reserve has been developed, we shall return to the previous rhythm. We shall keep pouring the ground and laying the slabs on the roadway after a full year. At that point we will not have to redo the work, and remove slabs from completed yet unsettled sections. Think of the savings in resources, labor and time. I do not expect of you specific suggestions today. Think, look at your own work, talk to the people. Only after that, I hope, will suggestions follow.

And they did. They were thoroughly computed and backed by engineering calculations. They were studied by the trust, summed up and applied. Gradually, the reserve of the earthen roadway began to grow. It was allowed to settle properly. It turned out that the overall output did not suffer.

The ability to intervene at the proper time and make corrections in the course of the work is one of the features of Nikolay Danilovich's character. Even before his arrival, the road workers, responding to the party's appeal, had pledged to work no less than 2 days annually with saved resources. Party committee sessions and party meetings were held in the subunits and socialist pledges were given. Now, in studying the decisions of the meetings and looking over the pledges, Nikolay Danilovich increasingly doubted their practicality. They contained a great deal of high sounding words but few specific obligations on conservation of materials.

He gathered together the chiefs and secretaries of party organization of the subunits and began a thorough discussion.

"You write: 'Save 200 slabs.' How will you save them? Are you going to stretch each one of them to make it 1 meter wider and 1 meter longer?"

One of the SMP chiefs tried to explain:

"We shall make an effort not to smash and break the slabs. This way..."

But Mamelchuk, the old road builder, could not fall in such traps. Avoiding to crush the plates should not take any particular obligation. The essence of the matter probably lay elsewhere. The subdivision managers, trapped by that same mentality of the "temporary workers" had developed a small reserve at each section and now were trying to present it as future economy.

"No," Mamelchuk objected. "Saving on the slabs is a fake. What can and must be saved are cement, fuel, electric power and timber. In these matters we are being excessively modest: 50 tons of cement and 15 cubic meters of timber for the entire trust. This is no economy whatsoever. In the name of the administration and the party committee I insist that everything be recomputed and that real figures and conservation methods be submitted."

Precise computations showed that in order to work 2 days on saved resources, 280 tons of cement, 3 tons of metal, 68 tons of diesel fuel, 45 cubic meters of timber and 28,000 kilowatt hours of electric power were needed. All of this was divided among the individual sectors, brigades and pieces of machinery. The picture became extremely clear.

Armed with these figures, the secretaries of the primary party organizations and the party group organizers explained to the party members the difficult task. In turn, the latter engaged in agitation work among the workers. Talks took place before the beginning of the shift, during breaks and while the people were at work, on what, where and how materials could be saved. Gradually the tremendous tasks, which initially seemed unattainable, became possible. It is true that each handful of cement and drop of fuel had to be watched. Dump truck drivers found the shortest way from the quarries to the roadway; bulldozer and excavator operators checked each step and turn, avoiding empty runs. The savings were broken down not only by figures but by deadlines as well. Each brigade and every worker knew how much and what he had to save in a month, a week and even a single day. These handfuls of cement, previously discarded bits of lumber and liters of fuel grew up into tons and cubic meters. Reports on accomplishments were sent every week to the party committee which continually supervised the work. If breakdowns occurred in a given sector, Mamelchuk would go there and find out why. Proper solutions were found together with the worker organizers and in a matter of days the situation was corrected.

One of the sectors failed to save the necessary amount of cement in one week. The sector chief pledged to correct the situation as soon as possible. The next morning he ordered that the amount of cement to be used be almost 25 percent below the norm. He assumed that this would not be noted immediately but only in 2 or 3 years, "when we will no longer be here." Once again this was a manifestation of the mentality of the "temporary worker." However, the sector's party members objected to the order and turned to the party committee. The "temporary worker" was sharply admonished. He was issued a strict reprimand and given a warning.

By the end of the year the necessary materials had been saved and the entire trust worked on saved resources for 2 days.

The 1984-1985 winter was very cold and hard on the construction workers. The pace of construction slowed down in virtually all trust subunits. The reasons seemed objective. On days when the cold was below 40 degrees Centigrade, the construction workers were given the day off with average pay. The number of such days, however, was excessive. Furthermore, the ground became so solidly frozen that the teeth of the excavators broke, cables snapped, and bulldozers frequently broke down from overstrain. It became necessary to explain the drop in the pace to the management.

One of the distant sectors was a cause for particular concern. The distance to the road was 10 kilometers. It was a target project and the situation there could not be worse. N. V. Marinenko, the section chief, submitted a report to the party buro of the construction-assembly train. He explained that they had fallen behind during the winter because of forced idling. Nearly one half of the machines had become worn out and broken down. On his request, the SMP management transferred to his section several excavators and bulldozers. He gave assurances that now he could catch up. One week passed and then another, and news from this target section was hardly reassuring. At that point, Mamelchuk suggested the holding of an open party meeting of the SMP and flew to the section by helicopter. It turned out that the reason for the lagging was not only the shortage of machinery. During the winter, with so much idling, the people had lost their work spirit and belief in the fact that this target project could be delivered on time. Furthermore the situation with the food was poor. There were only two women who worked at the cafeteria and could not properly serve 180 workers. At least two other cooks were needed. A number of other difficulties existed. For example, Tatyana Gorbanko, one of the cooks, complained that her 9-year old daughter had to be left behind in the settlement without supervision. How could she think of making the soup when all she could think of was about the child?

Nikolay Danilovich realized that this sector had to be kept under strict control. He flew in every week, checked on the work, and talked to the people. He helped to settle Tatyana Gorbanko's daughter first with the neighbors and then, for two terms, in the pioneer camp. He found two more workers for the cafeteria and met other requests of the workers. Still, the work proceeded slowly.

Marinenko had to be replaced. The young energetic engineer Petr Pavlovich Khmelevskiy was appointed section chief. He was able to mobilize the people and make them believe in success, and things improved. The target project was completed on time.

The voice from below, the opinion of the people are as important to Mamelchuk as are instructions from the top. That is why he is in the habit of listening to what the workers say and to their critical remarks.

Elections for local, city and oblast soviets were approaching. One day, after a visit to the agitation center, Nikolay Danilovich Mamelchuk was on his way back to the party committee. Catching up with a group of construction workers, walking down the street, he overheard scraps of their conversation.

"How come," a young boy asked, "that same man was nominated as candidate for deputy."

"Wait a minute. He will not be nominated. He has become too arrogant, this man, inaccessible to the simple worker. Servant of the people indeed... he feels he is very important."

"I am telling you, he will be nominated," the other one said. "We know him, but there, at the top, they have not changed their opinion. I have been most reliably informed of this."

Noticing Mamelchuk, who had slowed down, the entire group fell silent. This was regrettable. This conversation made Nikolay Danilovich prick his ears. Indeed, there had recently been a party committee meeting on the forthcoming elections. Yes, the city soviet deputy, a fitter-medical technician, was part of the ticket. The party committee intended to recommend him to the general meeting of the trust workers to be nominated candidate for deputy for a second term. But now, there were these unflattering remarks.

Mamelchuk did not forget what he heard. The next day he visited the office of the construction-installation train, where the deputy worked and told party organizer Vasily Dmitriyevich Kutko, the party organizer, and Vladimir Sergeyevich Neustroyev, the head of the collective, of the opinion of the workers.

The same day the entire brigade in which the deputy worked was summoned up to the office of the train chief. The deputy came, not knowing the reason for the meeting. As Nikolay Danilovich hoped, he saw among those present those from whom he had received that unexpected and not so pleasant signal. This meant that they were members of the same brigade. So much the better.

As he expected, the discussion was sharp.

"During the last election campaign," one of the workers said, "we were pleased that our fellow worker, a simple fitter, would be included among the candidates. The entire brigade of the first section voted for him. And now..."

One after another the workers spoke out. Turning to their comrade, they spoke of his neglect of deputy matters, lack of attention to voters' instructions, and recalled some unseemly actions. Nor did they forget to mention his arrogance.

"Why don't you say something?" Mamelchuk asked. "If the accusations are unfair, refute them."

"There is nothing to refute," sadly said the fitter, standing up. "All of it is true. I kept thinking that this was a petty matter. Now, when all such petty matters have been added up... I was able to endure the blizzards of the north and the fierce mosquitoes. Yet power and honors were more than I could handle. I am a poor deputy and a poor comrade.... Naturally, I shall try to mend my behavior. As to being a deputy again, I beg to be released."

The author of these lines deliberately does not identify this person, for he became aware of his errors and drew proper conclusions.

It was fitter Igor Dmitriyevich Uteshev who was nominated candidate for deputy and who, subsequently, became city soviet deputy.

The start of the first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan was hard for the road workers. The subcontractor--the Ukrtyumenmezhholkhozstroy Trust--let them down. The plan for the first quarter was not fulfilled. But how to influence the subcontractor, who has his own administration and party organization, directly answerable to the Noyabrsk gorkom. Mamelchuk had to summon the chief and the secretary of the party organization of the subcontracting trust. They promised that they will catch up. However, although the obligations for the first quarter of the plan were met, breakdowns resumed in April and May. The management of the subcontracting trust explained the lagging with breakdowns in procurements from the Ukrmezhholkhozstroy Association. At that point Mamelchuk went to Kiev and saw to it that the necessary slabs, cement and other materials began to be received regularly. However, the trust had fallen so greatly behind that it could not catch up immediately. Meanwhile, time was passing and the construction plan was merciless. Something had to be done on-site as well.

On the suggestion of Central Committee Party Organizer Mamelchuk, the Ukrtyumendorstroy Trust and the Latvian Lattyumendorstroy Trust provided the lagging subcontractor with the necessary materials, which helped to fulfill the plan for the first half of 1986.

The enlarged photographs of production front rankers -- petroleum and gas extraction workers and construction workers -- have been placed on the city's honor board. Also displayed are the collective photographs of brigades. There are several of them. Furthermore, the honor board lists the name of an entire trust -- Ukrtyumendorstroy -- the same trust headed by Filipp Stanislavovich Zakordonets and Nikolay Danilovich Mamelchuk, party organizer, Ukrainian CP Central Committee.

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## SCIENCE, EDUCATION, PRACTICE

### REORGANIZATION

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[Article by Academician I. Obraztsov, RSFSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education]

[Text] The profound changes in all realms of Soviet society, initiated with the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum and developed in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, require energetic people, acting consistently, independently, and purposefully. Lenin's demands of the specialist remain pertinent: "...In order to manage one must be competent. One must be entirely and specifically familiar with all production conditions; one must be familiar with the technology of the production process at its contemporary level and have some scientific training" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 40, p 215).

The strategy of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development formulates essentially new requirements concerning the higher and secondary specialized school in training specialists, as stipulated in the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country."

This draft is distinguished by the constructive and specific nature of its stipulations. It calls for a comprehensive solution of the multidimensional problems of perfecting higher and secondary specialized schools, as part of the national reorganization system, aimed at helping Soviet society to attain a new qualitative status. This ascribes the document a broad, programmatic long-term significance, making it a reliable manual for an essentially important sector of socialist building, such as the training of specialists.

It is noteworthy that many of the document's stipulations reflect the innovative experience of progressive VUZs in the country, including those under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the experience of which has already been practically and experimentally tested to some extent. Previously, in most cases the search for innovative and promising forms of organization of the training process did leave the campus of the individual VUZ and, were their result positive, they would immediately run against the regulations, plans and instructions of the USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Finance, and USSR Ministry



of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. Nevertheless, despite difficulties of both "external" and "internal" nature, caused by the conservatism of the higher school personnel themselves and of the administrative apparatus, the shoots of new developments were able to make their way.

Let us stipulate in advance another feature of our searches: the RSFSR Minvuz is the largest higher school organization not only in the republic but in the country as well. It largely determines the development of the scientific-production complex. For that reason we were able not only to experiment and choose what was best and most progressive, but also to conduct our searches on a large scale, making sure of the viability of the the various forms of organization of the training process and scientific research.

The RSFSR Minvuz system is comprised of 176 higher educational establishments with a total enrollment of 1.2 million students and 212,800 young specialists in virtually all economic sectors graduating every year. It employs 91,000 professors and teachers, more than 50,000 of whom have scientific degrees and titles.

The RSFSR Minvuz is also a large scientific organization which includes 38 scientific research institutes, 25 design bureaus, 51 experimental production facilities, problem and sectorial laboratories, computer centers, observatories, botanical gardens and other scientific institutions. A total of 132,000 professors, teachers and full time scientific associates (including 47,000 doctors and candidates of sciences), 6,500 graduate students and more than 100,000 undergraduates work on scientific research and experimental design projects. In monetary terms, the annual volume of scientific research exceeds 700,000 rubles, although the actual results are higher by a factor of 2-2.5.

Given such a scale of training and scientific research, it would be unforgivable not to seek the most efficient ways and means of labor and cadre training.

The ministry's VUZs have developed such means in recent decades. Such work was significantly intensified after the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In order to perfect the training process, the ministry set up a Training-Method Administration; a Cost Accounting Scientific Association was set up to upgrade the efficiency of scientific research. It began work in 1979 on a unified legal and economic basis, as a set of scientific research and experimental design organizations and experimental production facilities.

We now have some preliminary results of two of our basic experiments:

On the organization of intensive target training of specialists (TsIPS Program);

On a new method for VUZ scientific research, which was developed over the past 5 years within the framework of the Cost Accounting Scientific Association.

In order drastically to improve the quality of specialists' training, the CPSU Central Committee draft calls for converting to the new curriculums and programs, their regular updating in accordance with the latest achievements of science, technology and culture, improvements in basic theoretical training, the individualization, intensification and computerization of the training process, the development of independently creative work by young people, the technical reequipping of schools, and perfecting the management of higher and secondary specialized education.

The main lever of the reorganization is the close integration among education, science and production, based on contractual obligations. The schools must guarantee the high level of training of the specialist and the reputability of his diploma; enterprises and organizations must be responsible for the substantiation of demand for cadres and the efficient use of alumni, and participate in strengthening training-laboratory facilities.

These fundamental stipulations are consistent with the tasks of the RSFSR Minvuz Comprehensive Program, which was developed together with 14 sectorial machine building ministries and the USSR Academy of Sciences, and which calls for the intensive target training of specialists at 42 ministry VUZs. For the time being, this is only the first part of the program; we are planning to convert the majority of our VUZs to target training in the future.

The main objective of the program is to produce specialists who can ensure the conversion of the national economy to intensive development, people possessing a Marxist-Leninist outlook and basic scientific knowledge, and combining broad training with high professional standards and skill.

The program is structured on the basis of three methodological principles: cooperation with industry and the USSR Academy of Sciences, flexibility of the training system, and computerization of the training process.

The principle of cooperation enables us to take the following steps, on a contractual basis, on the "Minvuz-sector," "VUZ-enterprise" or "VUZ-scientific-research institute" level: creating training-scientific-production associations in VUZs, on the basis of department branches and sectorial and problem scientific research laboratories; providing related practical training at the place where the future specialist will be assigned; actual training and comprehensive graduation-project designing; modular assignment of graduates within the framework of one or several specialized areas, aimed at solving problems of enterprise scientific and technical progress; enterprise participation in the vocational guidance and selection of last-year students; participation of sectorial ministries and enterprises in providing material and technical support for the training and scientific-education process.

Flexibility in the educational system is attained with the use of intensive training methods, on the basis of automated systems, granting the VUZs the right to change their curriculums and programs efficiently, in accordance with the requests of the individual sectors, and increasing the amount of training time controlled by the VUZ council by as much as 20 percent.

The principle of computerization of the training-science-education process is based on the continuous use of computer equipment and information facilities, starting with the first year of training; development of automated training systems based on subject cycles and, subsequently, combined algorithms and programs; introduction in the curriculums of all specialized areas of a discipline, based on the use of automated design systems and scientific research, mathematical modeling and automated knowledge banks.

Extensive mathematization of all training courses, specialized subjects in particular, full mastery of the data processing theory with the help of nontraditional courses, operations research, theory of games, linear and nonlinear programming and theory of management or, briefly, all components of the mathematical apparatus of the developing overall theory of systems, are mandatory prerequisites which enable the students to model complex socioeconomic and natural processes; they are a necessary prerequisite for the use of computers not as calculators but as design and management tools.

It is only by creating such conditions that the VUZs were able to start developing in their future specialists creative systematic thinking and ensure their high professional competence and flexibility, autonomy and aspiration steadily to update and acquire new knowledge, and an enterprising attitude and ability to work as part of a collective. In this case, we advance from mass assembly-line to individual training, with the mandatory participation of students in scientific research, in which the determining factor is the educational influence of the teacher: his erudition, charm and high overall, professional and scientific standards. Regardless of the use of the most advanced automated training systems and computer technology, the teacher was and remains the central figure in the VUZ, the ideologue and organizer of the learning process.

We can already outline the professional features of a specialist with intensive target training. This will apply, above all, to people who have fluently mastered the principles of systems analysis, computers, automated design systems and scientific research. They must be able independently to formulate and solve scientific, engineering and production problems, look for new physical, technical and technological principles and management decisions, and possess comprehensive knowledge needed in developing, creating and operating highly reliable and high-quality machines, mechanisms and technologies.

Such high professional qualities would enable them, immediately after VUZ graduation, to work as senior designer, engineer or technologist, or head a creative brigade or bureau, for they will have the necessary theoretical, methodological, professional and instrument knowledge.

Said qualities are developed in the graduates thanks to the introduction in the curriculums of new subjects, such as "Theory of Reliability of Machines and Quality of Items and Production Systems," "Systems Analysis," "Mathematical Modeling," and "Methods for Scientific and Technical Creativity." The skills of a production organizer are developed with the new subject "Organization and Management of the Collective."

The training of students at 170 basic and about 220 branches of departments, opened at enterprises, correlated production practice, completing actual training and graduation projects and work on assignments issued by enterprises and organizations to which they will be assigned help to reduce the time needed for the specialist's adaptation. The main role in shortening adaptation time, however, is played by the post-graduate training services set up at the enterprises. They contribute to the development of feedback between enterprises and VUZs, thus providing information on the quality of training and, on this basis, making effective changes in the training-scientific-education process.

Let me point out that the quality of specialist training begins with the enrollment of the new students, at which point the vocational orientation work of the VUZ and the efficiency of the vocational guidance are determined. In this respect, good results were indicated by the experiment made at Kemerovo State University which, with the support of the oblast party committee, combined the efforts of the public education bodies and the party and Komsomol organizations and, together with the other VUZs, headed the scientific-methodical management of vocational guidance of secondary school students in the area. This was based on developing an active life stance among young people in the course of their choice of profession. This is helped by maintaining constant contacts between the young people, on the one hand, and teachers and university students, on the other who, by participating in physical-mathematical, and chemical courses, circles, and hobby groups and through their personal examples, influence the firmness of the choice of a VUZ specialty and the desire to master it. Here a change was made from periodical "recruiting" of secondary school seniors to planned training of new cadres. The Tomsk Institute for Automated Control Systems and Radio Electronics developed the "Oriyentir" automated dialogue system for youth vocational choices. While assisting the students in choosing a profession, it also helps to recognize the qualities of the potential graduate and forecast the successful training of the students; it helps to select potential leaders of student groups and social organizations. Naturally, such experience deserves the fastest and broadest possible dissemination.

The development of a vocational guidance system and a post-graduate training service for specialists enables us to extend the system of uninterrupted training discussed in the plan. This leads to the idea of the need to combine all educational units--the Ministry of Education, State Vocational Education, Minvuz and institutions engaged in retraining and upgrading the skills of teachers and specialists--within a single national complex, similar to the Gosagroprom or the USSR Council of Ministers Machine Building Bureau. The science of education must cover the entire process of molding of the Soviet person, from preschool training to upgrading specialists' skills and retraining. This will enable us to ensure the true continuity of education and the methodical and object continuity of its stages. It is only thus that the target selection of secondary school students and specialists' target training as required by the requesting enterprises will become more efficient.

Unlike the traditional method, the new methodological principle in target training is the approach to education itself: starting with the junior courses, the student is already assigned (on the recommendation of the

enterprise-customer) a specific long-term project which anticipates the level of development of the enterprise by several years, i.e., it lays a foundation for it. The project makes the student work more intensively and purposefully. He develops the internal conviction that he must master the material taught in order to fulfill his assignment instead of for passing a test.

Training based on the program under consideration is almost entirely individual: the student working on his project is guided by a tutor-instructor from the basic department and a tutor-engineer from the enterprise. In 1985 more than 40 groups of such specialists completed their studies. All in all, more than 1,400 groups of new-type specialists for the machine building sectors will complete their studies during the 12th 5-year period.

Let us note that the cost of training specialists on the basis of the new educational system is substantially higher compared with the traditional one, for which reason it is possible only on the basis of cooperation with industrial enterprises, on a cost accounting basis. We have already converted to the principles of cooperation in training specialists on the basis of long-term direct contracts between VUZs and enterprises. As to cost accounting relations between VUZs and enterprises, we are planning for the immediate future the experimental conversion of individual VUZs to work on the basis of this principle. At the present time cost accounting is an efficient mechanism which ensures, on an economic basis, a combination of mutual interests of the two sides of the single process of specialist training and utilization.

Intensive target training is most efficient in the intersectorial scientific and technical complexes and training-science-production centers, of which we currently have more than 100. This is one more argument in favor of the development of such type of combined organizations and of involving industrial enterprises and sectorial ministries in providing methodical and material-technical support of the training process. This conclusion was already codified in the resolution adopted at the conference of the heads of the RSFSR Minvuz and sectorial ministries, for whose benefit specialists are being trained on the basis of the intensive target training program.

Speaking of the initial results of the implementation of this program, let us note its major social significance. It is our future. The production process if being joined by truly skilled people who can convert it to intensive development. Students selected for target training on a competitive basis work more energetically and purposefully and their teachers not simply pass on to them a certain amount of knowledge but also guide the learning process, self-training and scientific research. We support the stipulations of the CPSU Central Committee plan which call for reducing the mandatory load and increasing the share of independent work supervised by teachers. We are also pleased by the planned reduction of lectures, for the volume of methodical training is increased substantially. It is precisely this type of approach that we expect of the legal documents which regulate VUZ activities VUZs, and which will be adopted after the ratification of the Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country.

We must also acknowledge our insufficiently persistent attitude in the application of progressive training forms and methods. Thus, the "physics-

technology" system, on the basis of which the Moscow Physical-Technological Institute has been training research engineers for the past 40 years, exclusively on the basis of sectorial and academic institutes, has been applied only at Novosibirsk University, the Leningrad Polytechnical Institute and several other VUZs.

The "plant-VIUZ" system, which has been applied for the past 25 years and is used in training specialists for large assembly-line production facilities, is used in five schools only. Naturally, to a certain extent, the dissemination of this training system is being held back by finance legalities; this also applies to the creation of training-science-production complexes, for which no standard regulation has been approved and which, according to current regulations, are "illegal." However, it is because of their high efficiency that such systems have earned the right to life and must be applied wherever proper conditions have been provided.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said the following at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "We have entered a stage of post-congress activities in which we must display our ability to reorganize and build, to seek new forms and methods, and not be satisfied with achievements even for a minute. Today reaching a dynamic pace of economic development, and high efficiency indicators become the main evaluation criteria...." We believe that our efforts and experimentation results--the new ways and means of organization of the training-science-education process--and their creative development will provide the real answer to these party requirements.

The traditional forms of organization of applied scientific research on the "department-enterprise" level are inefficient in the case of a large scientific organization, such as the RSFSR Minvuz. On our scale project duplication, work on petty themes, and dispersal of forces and funds are very costly.

We have started looking for more efficient forms and methods of organization of VUZ projects, based on cost accounting, concentration of efforts in the main areas, and planning the work according to target programs based on cooperation among academic and sectorial scientific institutions and different specialized VUZs. The main task was to organize financing not of scientific institutions but on the basis of target programs with specific end results.

Our work was based on the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 1978 decree "On Upgrading the Efficiency of Scientific Research in Higher Educational Institutions." The Cost Accounting Scientific Association was created in 1979. Its activities are guided by the target program method for organization and planning of scientific research and experimental design (NIOKR), based on the following system: "problem-target-program-resources-end results." State budget supported projects are financed on the basis of orders. Comprehensive target programs are oriented toward achieving specific end results (technical prototypes, new technologies) within stipulated deadlines. Unity is ensured between the training and scientific processes, centralized NIOKR services and research management, using economic incentives and unified standards and methods.

Let me note in particular that, unlike the technical experiment, our socioeconomic and organizational experiment presumes a considerable harnessing of internal reserves of ministry VUZs, combined with the traditional scientific research work done by higher educational institutions.

The experiment involving the Cost Accounting Scientific Association is nearing completion; most of the objectives and report indicators have been achieved; the new forms and methods of managing scientific work by VUZs, developed in the course of the experiment, have been codified with the corresponding legal and methodical documents. Its main positive result is the fact that we were able to concentrate the considerable forces of VUZ scientists on the implementation of major national economic, intersectorial, sectorial and regional programs.

This resulted in the application of target program methods for planning and organization of NIOKR and the formation and utilization of temporary collectives of scientists working in VUZs, academic institutes and sectorial ministry institutions. The establishment of this new organizational mechanism became possible thanks to the fact that the especially developed management apparatus of the association combined problems of development planning with resource backup, and converted from the level of "department-enterprise" orders to that of "Minvuz-sectorial ministry." The new and higher level of interaction between the RSFSR Minvuz and a number of leading industrial sectors ensured joint long-term cooperation (10-15 years) in solving priority problems.

Fifteen comprehensive target programs were formulated and approved jointly with USSR industrial sectors. The association's VUZs are the head performers while the industrial enterprises act as coperformers; these programs solve problems of centralized financing and material and technical support.

In order to ensure the implementation of the USSR Food and Energy Programs, in 1984 and 1985 the association formulated five regional comprehensive programs: "Robot Complex-90," "Spike," "Automation," "Nature Complex," and "Region." Their overall cost is 12 million rubles annually. A new feature here was the fact that a significant part of the financing is provided by union ministries (USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, USSR Ministry of Light Industry, USSR Ministry of Geology and others), for the results are used by the various republic regions as well.

We have always considered basic and applied research the foundation of all applied developments. It is precisely on their basis that the higher educational institutions developed essentially new widely acknowledged promising technologies, such as diffusion welding of metallic and nonmetallic materials, processing of shavings and slurry waste on the basis of powder technology; low-waste and low-activity technologies for metal and alloy processing based on the superplasticity effect, and others. It is also well-known that traditional financing of state budget topics has always been virtually uncontrollable. The introduction of a system of orders increased the amount of themes issued by the USSR GKNT from 18 to 45 percent and the share of most important state budget financed NIOKR reached 90 percent.

Many basic problems are being solved by the association together with the USSR Academy of Sciences. Contracts were initialed, and are successfully being carried out, on research and cadre training, with the Siberian Department and the Ural, Far East and Leningrad Scientific Centers of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences Bashkir branch.

After the establishment of the specialized department in the association, work in the social sciences and the humanities began to develop on a centralized and comprehensive basis. Currently 15 comprehensive target programs exist. They include "CPSU and Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress," "Social Progress of Siberia," "Upgrading the Role of Socialist Competition in the Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress" and "Organizing Psychological Support of Production Under the Conditions of Its Intensification." Many other comprehensive target programs are being drafted.

At the June 1985 CPSU Central Committee Conference on the Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress, M.S. Gorbachev stated that VUZ science has extensive reserves and that the departmental lack of coordination among research establishments, VUZs and production facilities must be eliminated. We are implementing this instruction thanks to the fact that, as the result of the work within the comprehensive target programs of the RSFSR Minvuz, temporary combined application groups are being set up at the base enterprises of customer ministries, consisting of personnel of VUZ who are program performers and members of academic scientific institutions or enterprises belonging to customer sectors. Their efforts are backed by centralized target financing and resource support. For example, the Ufa Aviation Institute, which is the head performer of the sectorial comprehensive target program "Aviation Technology," directs the work of 32 VUZs of the RSFSR Minvuz and of dozens of Ministry of Aviation Industry enterprises in which the best achievements are being applied. The Taganrog Radio Engineering Institute heads the "Multiprocessor Computer Systems with Programmed Architecture" sectorial comprehensive program, heading the activities of 10 VUZs of the RSFSR and several enterprises of the Ministry of Electronics Industry.

Experience proved that NIOKR results, based on the use of new physical phenomena and effects, find their fastest possible practical use only after preliminary design work at VUZ design bureaus. Taking this into consideration, the association intensively developed and is developing a network of design organizations at the VUZs: 10 of the 25 currently operating design organizations were created during the experimental period. Between 1980 and 1985 the VUZ design bureaus developed and submitted to industrial sectors a variety of equipment and technological prototypes.

A total of 482 items, which were highly rated by representatives of ministries and departments, were displayed at the RSFSR Council of Ministers exhibit in June 1985. Thanks to close and efficient ties established between the organizations under the RSFSR Minvuz and the base enterprises of sectors, within the framework of the scientific areas of the program, application time for completed projects has been reduced.

The training of highly skilled specialists by project-performing VUZs, mainly by students participating in such programs, is a most important factor in



accelerating the practical utilization of VUZ projects. For example, as part of the Aviation Technology Program, every year the Ufa, Kazan and Kuybyshev aviation institutes, the Moscow Aviation Technological Institute and others supply the Ministry of Aviation Industry enterprises with more than 1,000 alumni as follow-up cadres for the application of VUZ projects.

VUZ possibilities in the area of perfecting the training and scientific processes with computers have expanded significantly. The following comprehensive programs are being implemented on the basis of a centralized development fund: "Automatic Design System" (SAPR) and, together with the USSR Academy of Sciences, "Automated System for Scientific Research" (ASNI). Forty-three problem-oriented ASNI and 14 training-design SAPR were submitted to interdepartmental commissions in 1985.

The RSFSR Minvuz is drafting the comprehensive "Flexible Automated Production Systems" program, in which 56 VUZs and scientific institutions will participate, covering the priority areas of the machine building complex.

Forms of research organization, such as the training-science-production centers, will be developed further in order to accelerate the practical utilization of the latest achievements of VUZ science in machine building. Thus, a training-science-production center, which includes NETSI and enterprises under the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry (plants, a special design-technological bureau and a design institute) was created to speed up work at the Novosibirsk Electrical Engineering Institute, based on the Unikum-20 project of the Novosibirsk Electrical Engineering Institute, dealing with numerical program control systems (ChPU). As a result, during the first quarter of 1986 it became possible to prepare the system for industrial series production and to undertake the equipping of domestic machine tools with a control system superior to foreign designs.

The training-science-production center is a new VUZ-sectorial science form of integration. It requires deeper studies and further improvements.

Collective methods of servicing and experimental-production bases are being developed on the basis of specialized interVUZ and interdepartmental cooperation, in accordance with the approved "Plan for the Development and Location of the Experimental-Production Base of the RSFSR Minvuz for 1986-1990." The experiment with the association confirmed the efficiency of the course charted for expanding the experimental-production base. Engineering-technical centers were set up at the Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute for Robot Technology and the Perm Polytechnical Institute, for powder metallurgy.

An interVUZ experimental-production complex was set up in Tomsk, within the framework of the RSFSR Minvuz Cost Accounting Scientific Association, which is a structural part of the future republic system for providing scientific research services. The complex was set up on the basis of the principles of specialization, cooperation, planning and incentive and the extensive use of cost accounting. Its purpose is to improve the efficiency of scientific research, to train specialists in VUZs and scientific research institutes on a qualitatively new level and to shorten the time for the application of VUZ scientific developments in the national economy by including in it

experimental production facilities and an interVUZ laboratory complex, metrological and patent services and an interVUZ computer network.

The establishment of a time-sharing computer network has been undertaken as the result of the interaction among VUZs, the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department, the branches of four all-union centers of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and sectorial scientific research institutes. This method of organization of centralized services will enable us to increase the efficiency of unique and expensive equipment and of labor and material resources by a factor of 3-5; consequently, without additional capital investments, we shall be able to develop experimental-production facilities handling greater volumes of scientific research on a high technical level.

Practical experience indicates that the coordinated actions by VUZs and academic institutions substantially shorten the "research-production" cycle. In order for joint work to be successful, we must formulate more accurately the legal and organizational-practical standards such as, for example, priorities in the allocation of resources, financing procedures, staff use of equipment and materials, etc. Six years ago, by joint decision of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Aviation Industry and the RSFSR Minvuz, laboratories with automated systems for scientific research and automatic designing were set up at the Kuybyshev Aviation and Kazan Engineering-Construction Institutes. They developed methods for designing, ASNI and ASPR technical and programming facilities and applied standard measuring-computer sets for automating the testing of equipment prototypes in sectorial and academic institutions, VUZs and organizations of our ministry. The results of such laboratory work are being applied in teaching students the foundations for the development of the ASNI.

The possibility of involving the large army of young and energetic performers--undergraduates and graduate students--is a major advantage of doing such work in VUZs. Program facilities thus become objects of study tools for scientific research, and a scientific research area as well.

The created technical and programming facilities are standardized. They meet the requirements of state standards and can be extensively duplicated by USSR Academy of Sciences Institutes, VUZs and sectorial ministry enterprises without major technical documentation changes. Unfortunately, however, in this area the application mechanism has not yet been developed.

One of the positive results of this experiment is the fact that in the course of its implementation by the RSFSR Minvuz, an entire cohort of new-type managers has developed--VUZ rectors, managers of scientific research institutes and design bureaus, and program managers. These are initiative-minded people, who have reached a profound understanding of governmental tasks and are able to head the implementation of comprehensive programs, ensure the utilization of scientific developments and march in the vanguard of scientific and technical progress.

As we assess the results of the experiment, we are aware of the fact that these are the first steps in the elimination of shortcomings still inherent in the organization of NIOKR in higher schools.

Giving proper credit to the collectives of VUZs who carried out the experiments, frequently in an atmosphere of indifference and, occasionally, overt counteraction on the part of planning and financial bodies, let us note the tremendous attention which the party committees paid to problems of higher school and their support. Thus, both experiments--the intensive target training and the work of the Cost Accounting Scientific Association, took place exclusively thanks to the help of the CPSU Central Committee. The interVUZ scientific centers in Rostov-na-Donu, Tomsk, Leningrad, Ufa, Kazan and other cities and regions were objects of constant concern on the part of oblast party committees. The Kemerovo experiment in youth vocational guidance was also the offspring of the oblast party committee. Our successes would have been even greater had the VUZs been granted full participatory rights in regional soviet and economic bodies in the area of material production and its scientific services and cadre support, and their greater involvement in solving development and material and technical support problems.

Therefore, we have considered two experiments conducted by the RSFSR Minvuz. They are consistent with the essential stipulations of the "Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country." I would like to emphasize above all is that the purpose of the experiments is to upgrade the quality of specialist training on the basis of scientific research. In the first case, it is only thus that the training process is based on the production facilities of enterprises who request specialists and demand scientific developments; in the second, it is based on VUZ scientific and experimental design institutions, whose alumni provide cadre follow-up of strictly VUZ-completed developments. The difference between the two will be eliminated even further with the creation of training-science-production centers, for material facilities for research and for training specialists become one and the same. This state of affairs will be entirely consistent with the strategic line of the CPSU Central Committee plan of integrating education, science and production.

The object of this article was to prove the realistic nature of the plans earmarked in the Central Committee draft on Basic Education in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, considered through the lens of the experience of the VUZs of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. This experience should be made available to all country VUZs as soon as possible. Here as well new legislation and standardizing laws are necessary. However, the success of the reorganization will be determined, in the final account, not only by them but also by the ever growing role of the human factor. Every VUZ teacher and associate must begin the reorganization with himself, without waiting for ministry or rectorate circulars. It is time to expel formalism and red tape from VUZs and base the work not on passing grades but on the live work of educating and training highly skilled specialists.

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## Opinions and Responses

### PERFECTING MANAGEMENT AND UPGRADING RESPONSIBILITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 87-88

[Article by V. Sokolov, rector of Krasnoyarsk State University, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, professor]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions in the Reorganization of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the Country" reflect quite fully the existing the situation in the area of specialist training and use, and includes the substantiated conclusion of the need for a thorough reorganization of higher and secondary specialized education and making it consistent with the tasks of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country. Nevertheless, from our viewpoint, it would be expedient to concretize and develop some of the stipulations contained in the project.

To begin with, this applies to the higher school organizational structure and management system, its interaction with other forms of education and the development of an efficient financial-economic mechanism.

The 27th CPSU Congress called for the creation of a unified system of continuous education in the country. In our view, establishing a single state body in charge of education affairs, with a corresponding network of republic and territorial administrations, should become a mandatory step along this way. The affiliation of VUZs with dozens of ministries and departments, the lack of a scientific center in charge of overall problems of education and didactics in the country (as we know, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences is under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Education), and departmental lack of coordination in the system of upgrading cadre skills and their retraining, hinder the practice of a unified policy for the balanced shaping of manpower and upgrading its educational standards. We need a management authority whose activities must concentrate on solving strategic problems of development and molding the overall worker, in close contact with the Gosplan and the State Committee for Labor, based on a strict scientific forecast and assessed on the basis of the overall outcome of the country's socioeconomic development over a specific period of time. Obviously, such an authority should be free from formal-bureaucratic pseudoactivities, which amount to petty supervision and drafting circulars regulating the work of subordinate institutions. The center of gravity of practical actions should be shifted to

the primary collectives which should be granted suitable rights and possibilities.

The essentially accurate stipulation in the draft, according to which we must broaden the rights and responsibilities of VUZs, exclude petty supervision of their activities and eliminate formalism and paper shuffling, needs a more detailed development and interpretation. The point is that under present circumstances it is precisely the lack of the necessary autonomy of VUZs that hinders progress in the higher schools. VUZ initiative is fettered by hundreds of instructions and restrictions. A VUZ has no right to award a special scholarship to a student or establish contractual relations with a production facility on its own.

In this connection, we believe, it is necessary above all to simplify the system of financing VUZ activities. In a first approximation, it would suffice to limit VUZ financing to four items: wage and scholarship fund, capital investments and repairs, scientific research, and all others. It is high time to eliminate the classification of VUZ sciences into categories based on wages or, at least, to establish a single correlation between a VUZ category and its scientific research sector. The second or, even better, the next simultaneously taken step would be to make the salary system of scientific-education workers more flexible, similar to the one currently applied by the USSR Academy of Sciences, while taking the necessary steps substantially to upgrade and relatively equalize wages of servicing personnel. In accordance with such changes, the VUZ should be given the right independently to solve a significantly broader range of problems, such as:

To set for scientific-education workers, for each school year, on the basis of practical needs and real possibilities, individually differentiated ratios of scientific and scientific-methodical activities, thus essentially eliminating their classification into scientific and pedagogical workers;

To base the salaries of scientific-pedagogical workers according to their actual contribution and qualification standard;

To set up a bonus fund within the limits of the existing wage fund and to be able to manage it without the permission of superior bodies;

To give servicing personnel individual supplements to their salaries within the 30 percent range;

To recruit as teachers, with the rights of combination of professions, leading specialists from scientific research institutes and production facilities, in numbers dictated by actual conditions and possibilities.

Broadening the rights of VUZs in drafting curriculums and programs and determining the weekly load of the students, would greatly contribute to improving the conditions of training-methodical work. In the same area, other problems of VUZ scientific and economic activities await their solution.

We must broaden the legal base in planning VUZ activities by introducing, in particular, standards relative to cost and level of equipment with engineering

facilities, instruments and computers used in training and scientific processes and, on a planned basis, set a minimally admissible level of equipment and instrument value per student, below which the training of a specialist cannot be considered first rate.

In discussing ways of restructuring the higher school, we should not bypass the main problem: the student's situation in the VUZ and his role in the training and education process, in the course of which he must develop as a specialist and a citizen. The present state of affairs is such that, paradoxical though this might seem, a student does not bear any responsibility to himself or to society for the type of specialist he will become. The system of indicators which rate the work of a VUZ and the overall regulation of VUZ activities have made of the student a passive consumer and executor of someone else's will. It is sad to note that the higher school has absorbed the pedagogy of formalism, irresponsibility and infantilism, a pedagogy without risk and search, a "who cares" pedagogy.

The current curriculums and rules ignore or almost ignore the fact that during the time a student spends in the VUZ his personality is subject to a most active molding, and his outlook and life concepts are established. The VUZ influences this process through social and Komsomol work and, to the least degree, through the training process, perhaps with the exception of conceptual education. The general cultural development of the student, the shaping of an artistic taste and many other features, which determine the process of educating the person, remain beyond the scope of official VUZ activities. Briefly, this aspect of VUZ life demands a most decisive and truly radical reorganization, for here we are dealing with molding the new man, the bearer of the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and the active fighter for building a communist society. What are the general features of this reorganization?

First, the weekly work load of the student must be lowered, so as not to exceed 20-25 hours, by reducing the number of lectures (without curtailing the curriculum!) with a view to ensuring maximally increased exigency and to creating the necessary conditions for independent work by the student, i.e., to shifting the center of gravity to independent work by the future specialist. Second, as a consequence of the first step, the teacher must be transformed from an oracle who delivers the truth, to an organizer of the training process, centered on the active student with his own viewpoint on how, on what and with whom he should work. Third, as soon as possible the student must become involved in paid (and, therefore, bearing full responsibility) activities based on the plans of departments, laboratories, etc. (the experience of VUZs, such as the MFTI, Novosibirsk State University and many others has long confirmed the need for this kind of approach). Fourth, some of the problems relative to the vital interests of students (dormitories, scholarships) should be officially assumed by student organizations; in the future, in general, it would make sense to let such organizations deal with all problems of student life, food, sports, medical services, etc. Finally, the curriculums must mandatorily include the study of the foundations and history of culture, for a period covering six to eight semesters; such experience exists in the country.

Naturally, the reorganization of the higher school must be accompanied by a review of the current system for rating VUZ activities. What are the criteria on the basis of which VUZ work is currently rated? Student grades, the notorious "dropout," the enrollment plan, the graduation plan, teachers' degrees, etc. Which one of these factors encourages the department and the VUZ to go beyond its own walls and into national economic practical work? How is the creative principle in the work of a student rated and what is the consistency between the curriculum and the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution? Answers to such questions do not come easily...

Under contemporary conditions, VUZ activities should be rated on the basis of the manner in which its students are solving problems of scientific and technical progress and acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. Naturally, to this effect we must decisively reorganize the system of young specialists' assignments and the practice of their employment in production work, above all by increasing the responsibility of both VUZ and "consumer" for the efficient work of the specialist.

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## TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS AND HIGHER SCHOOL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) p 89

[Article by V. Vinokurov, department head at the Moscow Aviation Technological Institute, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences, professor, and K. Zuyev, , docent of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Increasingly close attention is being paid to the utilization of the latest production technologies in the formulation of party policy and in highlighting the key trends in building communism. Whereas perfecting technical systems within the framework of accepted technology can upgrade labor productivity by many tens of percentage points and yield savings on the same scale, conversion to new technologies enables us to enhance labor productivity by several hundred percent, helps to conserve energy and materials and results in the substantial enhancement of production quality.

The role of science increases at the same time. Scientific research, which is having increasing influence on technology and production, enhances the importance of their information component. This triggers essentially new requirements concerning higher education. In the light of technological changes which are taking place, the problems which face the higher school can be solved only on the basis of a new training technology, and by organizing higher education on an industrial basis.

Since the useful life of new equipment has become comparable to the time needed for training a specialist, the main faults of the old traditional training system, in which half of the training was reduced to the study of specific machines and instruments, have come to light. How should a specialist be trained? A conversion to a conceptual system is needed. Training in a specific profession must be preceded by the study of the area of professional activities of the future specialists and the determination of its basic principles and general laws. On the one hand, this type of approach means the elimination of superspecialization and fragmented mandatory specialized courses; on the other, it calls for involving in teaching highly skilled specialists with practical experience in the given area, capable of making summations on the proper theoretical level.



Faster scientific progress and the rapid appearance of new scientific ideas and trends have made the passive methods of mastery of scientific knowledge ineffective in the modern training of engineers and scientists. The pace at which knowledge is generated has become so fast that a VUZ graduate may be familiar with contemporary scientific concepts only by directly participating in their development. However, the principle of combining scientific work with training becomes an effective factor in developing a specialist, rather than a decorative element of the training process, only with adequate cadre and material facilities. The student can engage in scientific work only under the guidance of the kind of teacher who is himself actively working in the respective area.

The science-intensive nature of advanced modern technology calls for upgrading the professional mobility of the specialists. Particularly serious cadre problems arise in the start-up of enterprises using newly developed technologies, in the course of which the training of the future engineers and production organizers must be completed before the production process itself has become functional. Ignoring this circumstance could lead to a drastic drop in the efficiency of the enterprise precisely in this most important and currently rather short period during which the enterprise still enjoys technological leadership in its area. Here as well VUZs and VUZ science have the unique opportunity of solving such problems by combining within a single process scientific-design development of new production facilities and training specialists who will make their futures functioning possible. With this type of combination, students participate in the development of new equipment and learn how to use it. The cadre follow-up of scientific developments is one of the advantages of the VUZ scientific sector, which is particularly necessary in accelerating their practical utilization.

Said features of VUZ science also make higher education the most adequate structure for the latest production sector--the data-processing industry. Conversion to the industrial production of software, such as operational systems, mathematical support for cellular automated production systems, automated design systems, systems for the automation of scientific research, automated management systems, information-reference systems, etc., for all areas of the national economy, requires the fastest possible development of the organizational, economic, legal and technical structure of such a production facility. The use of already established VUZ science structure, properly reoriented and equipped with data processing and computer equipment, would make it possible to solve this problem with lowest possible investments and within a short time.

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## NEW KNOWLEDGE FOR THE NEW SPECIALIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) p 90

[Article by P. Panchenko, docent of the Omsk Higher Militia School, candidate of juridical sciences]

[Text] After acquainting myself with the CPSU Central Committee draft, my main wish is for this document to be enacted as soon as possible. It has been drafted thoroughly, taking into consideration the most competent conclusions, suggestions and recommendations. It reflects the interests of the entire Soviet society and public opinion, including that of scientific-pedagogical workers, and university students; it is consistent with the tasks set at the 27th CPSU Congress of shifting the economic and social areas to the track of accelerated development.

Like any VUZ teacher with some practical experience, I have my own suggestions which may possibly be of interest to the specialists.

I suggest the introduction of a new subject in VUZs (initially, perhaps, on an experimental basis): "Interdisciplinary Ties." It would be expedient to teach it throughout the training period and in all specialized areas. The large VUZs should be allowed to set up respective departments. The results could be substantial: the knowledge acquired by the students would be more firmly "tied" to the system; the subjects would be taught more purposefully, oriented toward the specialty; their classification by students into "necessary," "less necessary" and "unnecessary" would disappear.

We should also consider the introduction of the subject "Soviet Scientific and Technical (Economic, Industrial, Agrarian, Financial, Construction, Transport, Juridical and other, according to the nature of the VUZ) Policy," which would include the study of mandatory, constitutional-legal, organizational and other foundations of social practices in the corresponding areas.

In my view, we should also introduce the subject "VUZ Legislation" (either as a separate discipline or as part of the "Introduction to the Specialty"), which would equip the student with knowledge concerning his legal status and the legal status of the future specialists in the corresponding area.

It may be expedient to teach these three subjects as an extension of the "Introduction to the Specialty," within the framework of a single common discipline entitled "Specialty," related to the future profession, and which would run through all subjects taught at the VUZ. I ascribe essential significance to this problem, for we note presently a "scattering" of the knowledge imparted to the student. We try to squeeze within it all that we can, including a variety of guesses, assumptions and conjectures. The "specialty" subject should be accompanied by warnings indicating that the training process may be drifting in one direction or another, depending on the inclinations, predilections or "taste" of one teacher or another.

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## PEDAGOGICAL TRAINING FOR ENGINEERS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 90-91

[Article by G. Serikov, department head at Chelyabinsk Polytechnical Institute, docent]

[Text] In order to manage the production process competently, today mere knowledge of one's specialty no longer suffices. The future engineers must especially learn the foundations of management of production collectives. They must develop the ability to educate the working people. On the basis of such understanding of the reorganization of higher technical education in the country, I deem it expedient not only to enhance in the VUZs the levels of general education and specialized training of the students in the respective technological areas, but also the comprehensive psychological-pedagogical training of the future engineers. The knowledge which students in technical VUZs acquire in psychology and education contribute to the development of the personality of the new-type specialists, fully consistent with contemporary social needs. I believe that the psychological-pedagogical training of the future engineers should be considered an inseparable part of their professional training in the broad meaning of the term, i.e., as an aspect of the fundamental features of engineering knowledge.

In the psychology course it would be expedient to concentrate on the study of the psychophysiological foundations of the personality, interpersonal relations within the collective, and some problems of the psychology of the organization and management of production collectives. This would allow the future engineers to develop scientific concepts concerning the psychological features of the individual and his interrelationship with the collective, which must be taken into consideration in managing the production and social activities of collectives. In addition to basic didactical problems and problems of the theory of educating the individual and the collective, the pedagogy course should include problems of the organization of a system of training-educational measures within the collective. In this case, it is important to teach the future young specialists efficient means of managing the system of cadre retraining, which would include self-education or self-upbringing by the individual.

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## SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR THE TRAINING-EDUCATION PROCESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) p 91

[Article by N. Talyzina, head of the department of education and educational psychology, Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences corresponding member]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee draft justifiably notes that "the quality of the training and education process is determined, above all, by the nature of the faculty." The need for first rate professional-pedagogical training of higher and secondary specialized school teachers has become urgently. Let us note that today their training is limited merely to good orientation in the subject they will teach. Actually, the overwhelming majority of them have no pedagogical training (excluding sporadic training of graduate students). The lack of such training severely hinders overall improvements in training and educational work. Yet the solution of daily pedagogical problems requires teachers' fluency in psychology, pedagogy, specific methods, mental hygiene, age-group physiology, general theory of management, etc.

Spontaneous discoveries of long discovered rules of training and education, which many teachers acquire intuitively and over a long period of time, are by no means a productive method. In this case, commonsensical ordinary concepts are no help. In my view, it would be desirable to amend Section VII of the document under discussion as follows:

The beginning of the second clause of the first paragraph should read as follows: "The level of professional-pedagogical training of the professorial-teaching staff must be substantially enhanced and made consistent with the scientific requirements governing the organization of the training and education process;" in the second paragraph of the same section, which discusses the question of upgrading the standard of cadre training through post-graduate studies, the following should be stipulated: "The level of scientific, professional-pedagogical and ideological training of post-graduate students must be significantly enhanced."

Section IV should read: "The future teachers must be armed with a scientific system of professional-pedagogical skills and work methods."

One can easily see that these suggestions are interrelated. Their implementation, it seems to me, would contribute to the fact that the firm and rapid mastery of the achievements of science, technology and experience (as the draft stipulates) become the norm and the vital need of every teacher in the higher and secondary specialized schools.

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## IMPORTANT LINK IN CONTINUING EDUCATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 92-93

[Article by V. Voytko, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences corresponding member, professor, Central Institute for the Advancement of Teachers, Kiev]

[Text] In my opinion, in solving the problem formulated in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress of developing a unified continuing education system, matters should be organized in such a way that the higher schools play the leading role in upgrading the skill and in retraining specialists for the national economy. They have the required training and material facilities, scientific cadres and rich sociopedagogical experience for such purposes.

I believe that I have the moral right to write about this matter, having worked in a higher school for many years and being particularly closely familiar with the state of affairs of institutes for upgrading the qualifications (IPK) of specialists in different fields. Some such IPK were organized long ago while others appeared in recent years. All of them, however, were brought to life by the development of the scientific and technical revolution. The rapid obsolescence of knowledge and the need to update equipment, technology and organizational forms objectively call for universal and constant post-VUZ training of specialists. Starting with the 1960s, acting sometimes deliberately and sometimes intuitively, sectorial ministries and departments have organized short-term forms of upgrading skills and retraining cadres (seminars, courses, departments, institutes for skill upgrading, etc.). They operate on the rayon, oblast, republic and central sectorial levels. Since we have a large number of ministries and departments, we also have a large number of IPK.

What is the situation concerning the quality of upgrading the skill of specialists, leading cadres in particular? It would be no exaggeration to say that in the overwhelming majority of IPK it is inconsistent with the requirements of the present and is substantially below the standards of scientific and technical and social progress.

Socialist society, which invests considerable funds in upgrading the skills and retraining specialists, has the right to expect tangible returns in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. Reality urgently demands the fastest possible closing of the gap between the system for

upgrading skills in higher schools and social practice, and converting it into an efficient instrument for the implementation of the scientific and technical policy of the Soviet state.

If we truly aspire to develop an integral system of continuing post-VUZ training, we must begin today by eliminating the dispersal of its units.

Specifically, what does this mean? Each sector (department) should create a head institute for upgrading the skill of specialists, subordinated to the Ministry of Education in all aspects, and not only methods. Sectorial ministries and departments would contract with it for upgrading the skills and retraining cadres through the IPK in their own area and with its branches in the individual regions and, naturally, finance the Ministry of Education (or the head IPK), jointly develop curriculums and enterprises where the students would undergo practical production training, formulate their own (sectorial) requirements concerning the professional skills of the students, be represented in examination commissions for specialist certification, etc.

I am deeply convinced that putting head IPK under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education is the only realistic way of upgrading the quality of teaching and level of training and use of IPK cadres in scientific research.

The USSR Ministry of Education must provide direct organizational-methodical guidance and supervise the quality of skill-upgrading system. However, it has somehow removed itself from this matter and the sectorial IPK find themselves without unified scientific management. As to the sectorial ministries, they are simply unable to provide the most important components of specialist training, such as enhancing conceptual, political, managerial, legal, psychological, computer, ecological and pedagogical knowledge. Today the ideological-moral and civic aspects in the practice of upgrading skills are particularly unsatisfactory.

Obviously, the head IPK must have two departments: one for upgrading the skills of leading sectorial cadres and of specialists; and one for retraining cadres, based on the new trends in the development of the sector and society.

However, the creation of such sectorial IPK, put under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, is only the beginning of the reorganization. A USSR Council of Ministers decree should grant the head IPK an official status, with all pertinent rights and obligations. They should then be equipped with good training and material facilities and given the right to publish training and method materials and the most important scientific research and experimental design projects of departments and method services. The head IPK should set up banks of business and training-role games and, should their staff include doctors of sciences, organize the training of post-graduate students and trainees and set up scientific councils which could award the scientific titles of professor and docent and organize information services which would include the use of personal computers and terminals linked with networks for sectorial and intrasectorial time-sharing.

The social prestige of the IPK must be urgently and substantially enhanced. The truth is that so far the overwhelming majority of IPK have no such



prestige and it is not accidental that they are ordinarily referred to as "incubators." Even the best IPK today are not engaged in scientific research. Furthermore, the training they provide is, frankly speaking, haphazard. The current training practice in IPK does not include any positive motivations and orientation toward the qualitative mastery of the subject. Actually, they offer lectures, seminars and practical training, tests and examinations and, after obtaining a certificate of IPK graduation, merely for having attended such a course people gain promotions. The liberalism which blossomed freely for years among teachers is no longer tolerable. A satisfactory test grade was extremely rare but a failing grade was not given, although the answers of many of the students clearly indicated their lack of adequate erudition and management skills.

The pivotal task, therefore, of the proposed reorganization is a radical improvement in the quality of the training: high professional competence and socialist civic-mindedness. Such are our guidelines in the higher school and the post-graduate training of specialists. They are truly attainable as a result of the profound integration among education, science and practice. In the eyes of our generation a new type of relations are developing between higher and secondary specialized schools, on the one hand, and sectors with international economic complexes, on the other. Contracts between schools and enterprises must lead to substantial enhancement of responsibility: by the former, for the quality of cadre training, and by the latter for substantiating requests for specialists and their efficient use, and for providing research training facilities in training centers.

Let us particularly emphasize that the reorganization of higher and secondary specialized education in the country will be the more successful the more profoundly and radically the mentality of our cadres--professors, teachers and managers--changes. The specialist is the key figure in modern scientific and technical and social progress. Thinking by inertia and obsolete behavioral stereotypes are no longer suitable today, not to speak of the future.

Such are, in my view, the urgent tasks related to building a qualitatively new system for upgrading the skill and retraining specialists in the country, which is a major link in continuing education. A great deal has been and is being accomplished to raise the education an upbringing of tens of millions of children and adolescents to a new qualitative level in the course of the implementation of the reform of general education and vocational schools. The proposed changes in the higher school must be crowned by the completion of the continuing education system, including systematically anyone involved in its work.

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## IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES: EXPERIENCE, ACHIEVEMENTS, PROBLEMS

### IMPORTANT STAGE IN THE LIFE OF GDR COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 94-103

[Article by A. Martynov]

[Text] The 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the vanguard of the working class and the entire people of the GDR, took place at the time when the SED was celebrating the centennial of the birth of Ernst Thaelman, the outstanding leader of the German and international worker movements, as well as its own 40th anniversary. Loyal to the revolutionary traditions and invariably guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the party has recorded a number of outstanding pages in the history of the struggle for socialism and peace. The latest SED congress was another outstanding landmark in the history of the communist movement on German soil.

The congress discussed and approved the report of the SED Central Committee and the directives on the 5-year plan for the development of the national economy of the GDR in 1986-1990. These documents summed up the results of the progress made by the republic after its tenth congress and answered the question of how to make fuller use of the advantages of the new social system in order to accelerate scientific and technical, economic and social progress in the present difficult international situation. This forum confirmed the continuity of policy and proved that the SED is acting unanimously and cohesively, systematically implementing the 1976 program for building developed socialism and thus creating the main prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

The SED congress triggered major international response. Its proceedings were attended by 143 delegations of communist, worker and revolutionary vanguard parties, national democratic movements and socialist and social democratic parties. The Soviet communists were represented by a delegation headed by M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

### I

The participants in the congress concentrated on problems of the preservation of peace. The accountability report and the speeches comprehensively discussed the role of the GDR as an important factor of peace and socialism in

the center of Europe and defined the objectives and main trends in its foreign policy for the years to come. It was pointed out that of late the positions of the GDR as a bastion of peace and socialism in the center of Europe were strengthened substantially. As one of the two states which appeared on German soil as a result of World War II and post-war developments, the republic was able to show tremendous progress from the wreck of Hitler's Reich to a modern socialist state. It eliminated the socioeconomic roots which were nurturing the aggressive and chauvinistic policy of German imperialism, made revolutionary changes in relations of ownership of decisive means of production and laid a firm political and economic base for the implementation of the social, cultural and ideological tasks of building socialism.

The SED, the Marxist-Leninist party, is the leading force of the society. It is guided in its programmatic objectives and practical activities by the universal laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, proved by the global revolutionary process, creatively applying them under the specific historical conditions of the GDR. The society which was built here is free from the exploitation of man by man, crises and unemployment. It has created a dynamically developing economy in the interests of the people and the steady enhancement of the people's living standards. Social insurance and confidence in the future have been guaranteed. The republic offers scope for the unlimited display of the creative forces of the toiling people. As was noted in the accountability report of the Central Committee to the 11th Congress, GDR society is not as yet entirely perfect. However, that which has already been achieved has earned it the recognition of friends and cannot be ignored by enemies. The attractiveness of socialism in the GDR has become reality and will unquestionable continue to increase.

On a territory from which, in our own century, two world wars were started, the GDR is a highly viable country which, unlike the FRG, has drawn lessons from the past and made the defense of peace the main objective of its foreign policy. The liberation exploit of the Soviet people and their armed forces, which became a turning point in the history of the German people, the legacy of the fighters against fascism, not the least of whom were the German anti-fascists, linked through thousands of threads the present life of the working people in the GDR to its internal and foreign policy. This outstanding feature in the republic's development was once again clearly manifested during the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism, which became an important landmark in the preparations for the 11th SED Congress. "By successfully building socialism, which will continue," E. Honecker said in his speech at the 11th Congress, "we sacredly preserve and implement the behests of those who struggled for the salvation of mankind from the brown barbarism and for the better future of the peoples."

Furthermore, the establishment of the GDR as an important factor of peace and socialism in the center of Europe, continues to take place in a situation of acute struggles against the most aggressive forces of FRG imperialism, actively supported by the United States and other NATO countries. Essentially, so far the FRG remains the only European state which has not fully normalized relations with the GDR. The Kohl government openly proclaims its refusal to grant the GDR citizenship rights and to raise missions in either country to embassy rank. It is unwilling to demarcate the border on

the Elbe section and, in general, to acknowledge the international-legal nature of the boundary separating the FRG from the GDR. It has increased its claim to the right to represent "all Germans." German internal legislation is the base for such claims. Such are, Bonn says, the requirements of the fundamental law (constitution) of the FRG, which, as we know, was separately drafted as early as 1948 on the instructions of the occupation powers of the three Western countries. This course is clearly not consistent with the real state of affairs in central Europe, where two sovereign and independent German states -- the GDR and the FRG -- exist, and which furthermore, have different social systems and are members of different military-political alliances -- the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

By leaving unsettled such problems in relations with the GDR and formulating groundless aspirations, the ruling circles in the FRG are trying to back their false thesis with declarations to the effect that "the German problem remains open," that a "special relationship" exists between the two German states and that this is the only way in which they can develop. All of this, it is claimed in Bonn, is needed so that in the future "German unity" may be reinstated. In other words, plans are being formulated there to revise the existing and universally accepted territorial and political status quo in Europe and efforts are being made to support such aspirations with a practical policy of subverting socialism in the GDR.

Although this concept has already been rejected by reality, it is dangerous and becomes twice as dangerous if we consider that it is supplemented by the policy of militarization of the country, the encouragement of openly revanchist forces and the direct complicity of the adventuristic foreign policy course of the U.S. administration. American Pershing and cruise missiles have been deployed on West German territory with the agreement of the Kohl cabinet, targeted on the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist countries; preparations are underway for the deployment of binary chemical weapons. Recently the FRG became involved in the implementation of the SDI program -- Reagan's "star wars" plan. On Bonn's insistence, NATO lifted restrictions imposed on the FRG in the production of offensive weapons, after which the FRG military-industrial complex intensified its activities. The Bundeswehr is rearming at full speed. In 1987 it will be equipped with 400 cruise missiles which could hit targets in the western areas of the Soviet Union.

Under these circumstances, the European peoples, which have suffered more than once from the piratical policies of German imperialism, have the right to remind the politicians in Bonn of the need to draw lessons from the past and, in the interests of peace on the continent, to abandon their intentions of redrawing the map of Europe. The legitimate demand of the GDR for full normalization of relations between the two German states was reemphasized at the 11th SED Congress. Addressing the congress in Berlin, M. S. Gorbachev most firmly stated that the USSR entirely supports "the legitimate demand of the GDR toward the FRG for relations between them as equal and sovereign states, to be made fully consistent with the universally accepted standards of international law."

In the period between the 10th and 11th SED Congresses, GDR representatives at international fora and in the course of bilateral contacts with

representatives of different countries, including members of NATO, acting in the spirit of the line coordinated among the fraternal countries, actively urged the adoption of efficient measures to limit armaments and for disarmament and for eliminating confrontation through the development of reciprocally beneficial cooperation. The GDR and Czechoslovakia initiated the idea of creating zones free from chemical weapons in Europe. This initiative met with the support of the broadest possible political circles in Europe.

The Berlin Congress highly appreciated the initiative-minded approach of the Soviet Union to problems of global politics and its broad programs for freeing the world from all types of nuclear weapons and creating a system of international security by the year 2000. "We," the SED Central Committee accountability report reads, "fully approve these suggestions formulated by M. S. Gorbachev and adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress, and join in their implementation. They are fully consistent with our ideal of a world without weapons and violence, a world in which each nation will be able freely to choose the path to follow in its development and its way of life."

The delegates warmly supported the Soviet proposals of lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe and reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in the area between the Atlantic and the Urals, as presented by M. S. Gorbachev at the SED Congress, and assured in their speeches that the GDR will contribute all it can to the implementation of such daring and important proposals.

The new Soviet initiatives were welcomed approvingly by many European countries, which saw in them a specific and realistic foundation for strengthening security on our continent. This increased even further the attention paid to the 11th SED Congress as an important peace forum.

The congress, which optimistically assessed the prospects of the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, pointed out, above all, the decisive role of the increased strength of world socialism and the fuller recognition of its potential and advantages over capitalism. The GDR communists assessed the 27th CPSU Congress as "an event of tremendous international importance." The 27th CPSU Congress, they emphasized, enriched the treasury of experience of fraternal parties in building socialism. It provided powerful incentives for interaction among them and proved their constructive approach to the most vital problems of our time.

The 11th SED Congress, like the 27th CPSU Congress, indicated that our parties and countries are united in their desire to halt the arms race and to improve global developments.

## II

The party's economic and social policy was discussed extensively and with interest at the forum of the GDR communists. This trend in its activities was considered as a most important priority. It is precisely in this area that most important problems are solved, such as upgrading the material and cultural standards of the people, the competition between socialism and capitalism, strengthening the country's defense capability and the

preservation of peace. The communist forum proved that purposeful, skillfully organized and comprehensive efforts are being made for the development of the national economy on all levels in the country.

For a number of years the republic has been confidently advancing in this area. It saw to it that public production intensification became the main way to a stable economic growth. Between 1981 and 1985 its national income increased by an average of 4.5 percent annually. More than 90 percent of the growth was achieved through higher labor productivity.

In the previous 5-year period industry, which accounts for three quarters of the growth of the national income, developed at a stable pace (4 percent annually). Within that time the volume of superior quality industrial goods doubled.

Thanks to intensive factors, the use of scientific and technical achievements above all, such overall growth rates and, in particular, quality indicators of industrial output, were obtained while, at the same time, specific outlays of power, raw materials and materials, important from the national economic viewpoint, declined by 5.3 percent annually and the average annual working time economy averaged 500 million hours or the equivalent of the work of 300,000 people. In the 1970s the GDR was still experiencing great manpower shortages. Today this problem no longer exists.

The workers in socialist agriculture are achieving good results. Between 1981 and 1985 grain crops averaged 41.3 quintals per hectare, compared with 35.8 quintals in the previous 5-year period. Animal husbandry output increased. Compared with the preceding 5-year period, outlays were reduced by 15 percent for chemical fertilizers, 3 percent for fodder production and 14 percent for electric and thermal power per unit of agricultural output.

GDR agriculture has become a highly efficient economic sector which meets the growing demand of the population for food products. Thanks to the intensification, the country was able gradually to eliminate feed grain imports. This problem will be entirely solved in the next few years.

The growing economic potential is used to ensure the further upsurge in the well-being of the working people and the development of culture, science, education, health care, physical culture and sports. Nearly 80 percent of the national income used by the country is channeled into such areas. It is thus that unity between economic and social policy is being strengthened in practical terms. This course was set by the SED already at its 8th Congress.

That course was approved and confirmed once again at the 11th SED Congress as the main trend in party activities in 1986-1990 and on a longer range basis. Such policy meets with the support of the broadest possible toiling strata and contributes to upgrading labor and political activeness.

The use and perfecting of economic methods for production and labor incentive is ascribed prime importance in the republic. Here as well substantial positive experience has been gained. In particular, economic management was reorganized in recent years. Combines and their enterprises became the main

unit of the country's planned economy. Industry under central administration has 127 combines; construction has 21 and transportation and communications, 4; industry under district administration has 94. All combines, as the documents of the 11th Congress emphasize, successfully passed the practical test and proved to be a modern form of organization and management of large scale output under conditions of intensification.

The combine is a scientific-production complex with a unified reproduction process, from scientific research and design-engineering developments to the production and marketing of finished goods (a combine producing goods for export has its own foreign trade organization).

The combines, which have their own NIOKR potential, ensure the combination of science and technology with production. They maintain close contractual relations with the Academy of Sciences and the higher schools, which upgrades the efficiency of their creative potential. Here the alliance between science and production is organized on an economic basis. Most of the country's scientific and technical potential is concentrated in the combines; as a rule, they have their own facilities for the production of complementing items and sections for the production of means of rationalization and their regular construction organizations. Virtually all combines producing means of production have capacities for the production of consumer goods.

The combines are administered by their head enterprises. The general director answers directly to the respective minister.

The combines use a system of cost accounting with elements such as price, norms, outlays, financial-credit levers, wage and wage policy which links worker wages to labor outlays and economic contracts. The work results of combines and enterprises are assessed according to four basic indicators: net output, net profit, population supplies and services, and exports. The net production indicator, as assessed by the delegates to the 11th Congress, is the most effective economic lever. It encourages enterprise collectives to save on raw materials, energy and materials, actively to apply scientific and technical achievements, promote rationalization through its own forces and facilities and lower production costs. This indicator has become most widespread. As a rule, today all statistical reports give priority to the indicators of net industrial output and labor productivity on the basis of net output (in recent years they have exceeded by almost 100 percent commodity output indicators). The commodity output indicator has been retained but is used essentially in balancing operations.

The average annual increase in labor productivity on the basis of the net output of industrial combines under central administration was 6.6 percent between 1981 and 1985 and should average 8.5 percent between 1986 and 1990. Therefore, the virtually entire increase in industrial output will be achieved exclusively as a result of higher labor productivity.

Currently, labor productivity in industry is increasing essentially as a result of the utilization of the achievements of science and technology (in the 1970s no more than 55 percent of the growth of labor productivity was achieved by applying the results of scientific and technical progress).

The efficient utilization of prime raw materials, fuel and materials and recycled resources was substantially increased under the new economic management conditions. Thus, the lowering of specific energy outlays per unit of industrial commodity output will be 3.3 percent annually, and that of raw and other materials, 4 percent, between 1986 and 1990. The share of recycled raw materials used in the overall volume of major types of industrial raw materials will increase from 12 percent in 1985 to 14-15 percent in 1990. The share of recycled paper used in the production of paper and cardboard has already reached 50 percent in the GDR and that of recycled glass, 70 percent. The entire amount of lead used comes from scrap; 69 percent of the aluminum from recycled aluminum, etc.

The 11th SED Congress noted the leading role of the combines in the creation and mastery of key technologies, the application of which must ensure a sharp economic upsurge in the next few years. This applies to microelectronics, computers, automation of design and engineering operations and the management of technological processes, automated flexible production systems, progressive materials, biotechnologies, nuclear power and lasers.

The following assignments provide an idea of the scale of this work: between 75,000 and 80,000 of industrial robots will be produced in 1986 - 1990 (in the past 5-year period about 50,000 were produced). By 1990 the share of output based on automated equipment must triple. The share of output consistent with world standards will be increased substantially. During the 5-year period the production of 15,000-16,000 types of new competitive items will be mastered.

Steps to improve economic returns from the use of scientific and technical achievements in the production process, perfecting price setting (a more efficient reflection of actual social outlays in production prices, stimulating the production of new and stopping the production of obsolete items through price markups and discounts) and increased volume of capital investments in rationalization and the production of means of rationalization by combines and enterprises are ascribed an important role in the GDR economic mechanism. Another source of growth is the increased level of utilization of production equipment in industry, particularly of expensive and high-efficiency machinery. In GDR industrial sectors, distinguished by their high capital intensiveness, equipment load per calendar day was 17 hours in 1970, 17.7 in 1980 and 18.7 in 1985; it will reach 18 to 20 hours by 1990.

The congress called upon the party and economic cadres and all working people not to be satisfied with their accomplishments but to improve management, planning, socialist competition and cost accounting, directing them toward the increased mastery of the more complex mechanism of modern economic interconnections. The economic incentive and moral encouragement of collectives of combines and enterprises must be consistently directed toward the production of superior quality goods, upgrading labor productivity and production efficiency and the use of categories such as profit, outlays, prices, credits and interest rates.

In order to ensure the further intensification of agricultural production, faster growth rates will be achieved in crop growing and animal husbandry output per hectare of farm land, and production costs will be reduced.



In addition to mechanization, chemization and reclamation, the most important trends in intensification in recent years included measures to perfect cooperation relations, management and cost accounting in this sector. Interfarm councils of village cooperatives (SKhPK) and people's estates (NI) were created. Such bodies are being increasingly granted managerial economic functions without loss of juridical autonomy of individual SKhPK and NI. In 1984 economic management tasks were performed by no more than 88 interfarm councils, compared with 628 in 1985 and all 1,193 at the start of 1986. A typical example of such cooperation is that between a crop-growing farm and two or three animal husbandry farms, averaging 4,800 hectares of farmland and 4,500 head of cattle. Practical experience indicates that scientific and technical achievements are used most successfully within such associations, and so is productive capital. The division between animal husbandry farms and crop-growing farms, which supply them with fodder, is being eliminated.

By the end of the 1970s a noticeable percentage of agricultural cooperatives in the GDR were unprofitable. As a whole this adversely affected the results of their activities. At the beginning of the 1980s the situation was corrected largely thanks to a reform in agricultural production prices. The new purchase prices were set on the basis of a more accurate consideration of the expenditures and revenues of the individual farms. Now, when all farms have become profitable, the new purchase prices for agricultural commodities, which were introduced in 1986, will remain essentially firm until 1990.

The extensive intensification of the national economy in the GDR formulates increasing requirements concerning the vocational training and upbringing and the retraining of workers and cooperative farmers and the training of specialists with higher and secondary education. The SED considers this a major trend in its activities in order to achieve the new economic objectives for the next 5-year period and on a longer-range basis.

A system for vocational-technical training was developed and is steadily being improved in the GDR. A broad network of PTU and centers for vocational technical training are in operation. More than one million skilled workers and over 63,000 foremen were trained between 1981 and 1985. Today over 85 percent of all working people in the republic have vocational training. By 1990 90 percent of the working people will be skilled workers, foremen and specialists with higher and secondary specialized training.

As a rule, 95 percent of PTU graduates meet the output norms of skilled workers. In connection with increased requirements, above all in areas such as microelectronics, robot engineering and automated control systems and data processing, between 1986 and 1990 the PTU will gradually introduce new curriculums in all areas of training. By 1987 80 percent of all students will be trained on the basis of the new curriculums.

The movement of innovators and production rationalizers has become widespread among the young. In 1985, 79 percent of PTU students were involved in it.

The 11th Congress considered all problems related to the further intensification of the national economy as major components of the party's economic strategy for the future.

### III

The SED Congress, the participation of the CPSU delegation headed by M. S. Gorbachev, and his talks with E. Honecker and other GDR leaders are of essential importance in intensifying cooperation between the two parties and countries.

The inviolability of the fraternal alliance between the SED and the GDR, on the one hand, and the CPSU and the USSR, on the other, was confirmed at the congress; it was convincingly proved that this alliance is a reliable foundation for the successful progress of the GDR toward building a developed socialist society. The delegates welcomed the envoys of the CPSU with great warmth. The statement by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to the effect that "we were and will remain forever loyal friends and allies of the SED and the GDR," were welcomed with particular warmth. The CPSU, M. S. Gorbachev noted in his speech, does not conceive of the future of the Soviet Union outside a close interaction with the GDR and the other fraternal countries. This is demanded not only by the internationalist convictions of the Soviet communists but also the need for joint efforts in solving the difficult problems of our time.

The fact that the 27th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress showed complete unity of views and positions on basic problems of building socialism and communism and on foreign policy, and the solidity of their fraternal alliance were noted with satisfaction at the meeting between the CPSU delegation and the GDR leadership. This conclusion is one more proof of the fact that our parties are marching in the same ranks, inspired by common ideals and objectives in solving the same or similar problems.

Relations between the CPSU and the SED and the USSR and the GDR are characterized by a high level of development and total reciprocal trust. They cover all areas of social life of both countries -- party, state, economic, scientific and technical, cultural and others. Close cooperation between the CPSU and the SED, on which such relations are based, plays a particular role in the entire system of relations. This was reasserted by the 27th CPSU Congress and our friends' 11th Congress. The decisions made at the two communist fora open new practically unlimited opportunities for further interaction in the interest of both countries and the entire socialist community and for preserving peace on earth.

Economic, scientific and technical relations, which have become an important factor in solving major national economic problems by both countries, play a great role in our relations. Their significance will be increasing steadily.

The USSR and the GDR are very great partners in economics, science and technology. The Soviet Union accounts for 39 percent of the GDR's foreign trade. The share of the GDR in Soviet foreign trade is also the largest among all of its partners, totaling 11 percent. This figure will be increased by approximately 25 percent between 1986 and 1990.

This 5-year period, as in the past, the Soviet Union will supply the GDR vitally important types of raw and other materials, such as petroleum, natural

gas, rolled ferrous metals, cellulose, cotton and others. The amount of such deliveries will meet the basic needs of the republic for such commodities.

Significant volumes of Soviet exports to the GDR consist of microelectronic items, power industry machines and equipment, goods produced by the metal processing industry, including flexible production systems, and other industrial commodities. As in the past, the bulk of GDR deliveries to the USSR is machines and equipment which meet to a considerable extent Soviet import needs for such items.

The quality of reciprocal procurements must meet strict standards this 5-year period. The strict world standards have become the main criterion in this area. This is directly based on the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress. The trade structure which developed in the past must be improved. Between 1986 and 1990 it will largely meet the new tasks, for we have been able to increase reciprocal procurements of modern machines and equipment. Such work will be continued, however, including in drafting the annual trade protocols.

The conversion to extensive national economic intensification in both countries will require paying greater attention in the course of cooperation to concentrating the material and spiritual potentials of the USSR and the GDR on the large-scale problems of economic and social development and the next generation of scientific and technical progress.

The necessary prerequisites to this effect have been created, thanks to the resolutions of the summit economic conference of CEMA members (1984), the adoption of the comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress of CEMA members and the conclusion of the long-term program for cooperation between the USSR and the GDR in the areas of science, technology and production for the period until the year 2000.

In accordance with the obligations based on these fundamental documents, extensive work is being done on a bilateral and multilateral basis with a view to emerging on the cutting edge of science, technology and production and reciprocal procurements of commodities in agreed-upon amounts and quality, within the strictly stipulated deadlines.

Both countries are focusing their attention, in particular, on areas such as the development and extensive fabrication of microelectronics, robotics, modern control and design systems and high efficiency technologies in the production of plastic goods and synthetic fibers and the development and organization of the production of new machines, instruments and equipment.

The USSR and the GDR have already acquired substantial experience in economic and scientific and technical cooperation in the past, experience which, unquestionably, will be applied during the new stage in their cooperation.

Nevertheless, reality calls for the quest of new ways and means of cooperation. This was discussed at the recently held meeting between the CPSU delegation and the GDR leadership. The participants in the meeting emphasized the need for the further expansion and advancement of cooperation and

specialization, particularly in the field of machine building, the development of direct relations between industrial, agricultural and other enterprises and scientific research organizations, and the establishment of joint associations and companies by the two countries or with the participation of third countries. Such agreements considerably broaden the entire front of cooperation, and are aimed at directly involving in it production and scientific research collectives.

Other mutually profitable forms of cooperation of proven usefulness include GDR participation in building capital construction projects in the USSR and providing the GDR with Soviet technical aid in building thermal and nuclear electric power stations and looking for natural gas deposits.

The construction of the ferryboat line between Klaypeda and Mukran has become a major cooperation project between our two countries. The first part of the line must be completed in 1986. This will significantly speed up the hauling of freight and eliminate one of the bottlenecks in transportation relations. Like many others, this project is both of economic and major political significance. It is no accident that both Soviet and GDR construction workers have already described this ferryboat line as the "new friendship bridge" linking our peoples.

Most of the speakers at the congress spoke of cooperation with the Soviet Union in one area of social life or another and of achievements and prospects in the development of our relations. A number of examples were cited of the way the ties of friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR are strengthening in the course of joint work. These speeches reflected the entire variety of such truly international relations, their high level and great future for which our fraternal parties and countries will work together.

The 11th SED Congress will enter GDR history as an important landmark in building developed socialist society and a contribution to strengthening the positions of socialism in the world and the friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the SED and the USSR and the GDR, and in the rapprochement between the peoples of both countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

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## THE CUBAN REVOLUTION AND FIDEL CASTRO

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[Article by M. Zubatkin]

[Text] The socialist world is currently undergoing an important and quite crucial stage in its development. The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and its course of acceleration of socioeconomic progress of Soviet society and the congresses held by the fraternal parties of many other socialist countries this year, marked the entry of world socialism into the area of dynamic reorganizations and radical quality changes. "Socialism," delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress pointed out, "is steadily perfecting social relations, purposefully increasing accomplishments and gathering strength, making its example more convincing and demonstrating the real humanism of its entire way of life. It is thus that it is erecting an increasingly stronger protection against the ideology and politics of war and militarism, reaction and violence and all forms of human hating and is actively contributing to social progress. It has become a powerful moral and material force and proven the possibilities of modern civilization."

The Republic of Cuba, the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere, occupies a worthy place in the rank of the socialist states. The successful building of a new society in a small and previously underdeveloped country, geographically distant from the other socialist countries and located in the immediate vicinity of the citadel of world imperialism, the solution of the basic problems of economic and social development in the interest of the broad popular masses and the principle-minded and consistent foreign policy pursued by Cuba have justifiably earned it prestige and respect on all continents and created great interest in its experience in the world revolutionary movement and among the liberated countries.

The 3rd Cuban Communist Party Congress, which took place in February 1986, was the most important political event in the country's life. In summing up the results of the past 5 years and noting the unquestionable accomplishments on all fronts of the building of socialism, the congress also concentrated its attention on shortcomings and unsolved problems. It analyzed the reasons for the difficulties which had appeared, sharply and on a principled Leninist basis, and earmarked specific means of solving them. The post-congress

atmosphere in the country is characterized by increased exigency toward party cadres and all party members, a revolutionary spirit of change and the aspiration to put an end to negative phenomena and substantially to accelerate the progress of building socialism. To a certain extent, the 3rd Congress became a turning point in the history of the party and the entire country and in that sense, in the view of the Cuban comrades, resembles the historical 1st Congress. Currently, active efforts have been launched to implement the resolutions of the party's forum and its stipulations. The forthcoming ratification of the first program of the Communist Party of Cuba, the draft of which is being extensively discussed by party members and all working people, which will be approved at a special session of the delegates to the 3rd Congress, will be of essential significance to the party and the people.

The activities of the Cuban CP in guiding the building of the first socialist state on the American continent is inseparably linked to the name of Fidel Castro. For the past 30 years, ever since he headed the storming of the Moncada Barracks on 26 July 1953, he has made a tremendous contribution to defining the strategy and tactics of the country's progress towards socialism. For more than one quarter of a century the words "socialist Cuba" and "Fidel" have been inseparable in the minds of the revolutionaries the world over. Without belittling in the least the role of the people's masses and the activities of the communists, we must acknowledge that the Cuban revolution is directly related to Fidel Castro's personality and his tireless activities in guiding the revolutionary process in the course of its development. As an inflexible revolutionary, principle-minded politician, daring and courageous fighter and passionate patriot and internationalist, he is the example of a true popular leader who properly perceives and expresses the interests of the broadest possible toiling masses. F. Castro himself rates with exceptional modesty his contribution to the Cuban revolution. In one of his recent interviews, in answering the questions asked by an Italian journal, he said: "I believe in the people, in the principles, the consciousness of the people. I am convinced that what I have accomplished will remain. I know that by himself Fidel does not mean revolution, for the revolution was not made by Fidel alone. Fidel played an important role in the revolution, a more important role initially than now, for initially we did not have so many trained people with the present maturity of revolutionary consciousness. The revolution is the work of the hands of millions of people and these millions of people will continue to live, one way or the other." The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers greetings to Fidel Castro on the occasion of his 60th birthday note the following: "Having taken the path of the revolutionary since your adolescence, you dedicated yourself totally to the struggle for the liberation of your native country from the chains of tyranny and the domination of imperialism and for the dignity, true sovereignty and progress of the Cuban people."

A collection of Fidel Castro's selected works was recently prepared and published by Politizdat (Fidel Castro. "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya, 1952-1986 Gg." [Selected Works, 1952-1986]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 567 pp). This thick volume, naturally, cannot include even a tenth of the numerous speeches, addresses, reports and articles by the leader of the Cuban Revolution stretching over a period of more than 30 years of political activities.

Nevertheless, in addition to the other collections of Castro's speeches and addresses already published in our country, it offers the Soviet reader the opportunity of finding himself in the atmosphere of revolutionary Cuba and to retrace the major stages in the heroic and unique history of the establishment of the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere. In addition to the rich factual data, this collection draws attention also with its "subjective" aspect: the vivid manner in which its materials reflect the personality of the author. The reader cannot fail to feel the political daring and courage, the ability to perceive accurately all nuances of the moods of the masses and the skill of finding proper solutions to even the most confused and difficult situations and to formulate realistic tasks for each specific time in the development of the revolutionary process are features which characterize Fidel Castro's political talent.

The book presents a picture of a splendid organizer and political educator of the masses, whose inexhaustible energy is always directed at their mobilization in the struggle for the advancing development of the revolution, the ideological and organizational unity of truly revolutionary forces, the elimination of political stagnation and prejudices, cliches and stereotypes and for a creative attitude to reality and its revolutionary transformation. This book is a characteristic political biography of Fidel Castro written by himself. At the same time, the value of this work is that unlike studies by historians, who can analyze the past "from the positions of the future" and of the facts which followed, in this book we come across a description of events at the very moment they occurred, when future development was still unknown to the author himself and which was "created" by him to a certain extent precisely at that moment. This allows the reader to see the "dynamics of life" and the logic of the revolutionary process in the entire wealth of its specific details and real contradictions. In this respect, Castro's "Selected Works" are a unique "living history" of the Cuban revolution from its origins -- 26 July 1953 -- to the present.

The collection opens with three documents related to the organization of the revolutionary struggle waged by the Cuban people against the Batista dictatorship. The political situation in prerevolutionary Cuba, which was a typical example of a dependent country, whose entire life was subordinated to U.S. imperialist diktat, substantially changed after the coup d'etat made by the Cuban military on 10 March 1952. The entire hypocritical screen of bourgeois "democracy" was cast aside; the "free play" of political dealers and adventurists of the bourgeois parties came to an end and an open regime of military dictatorship, so well familiar to the peoples of the Latin American countries, was established in the country.

Under such circumstances, when many leaders of political parties were totally confused and were making plans for putting together a legal "opposition" to the dictatorial regime, the manly voice of the 25-year old lawyer Fidel Castro was heard loudly. On that day, 10 March 1952, no more than a few hours after the coup d'etat, he drafted a manifesto which passionately exposed the usurpers of state power. Turning to those who had established a military dictatorship, the author of the manifesto pointed out the absolute illegality of their actions. "Your attempt to gain power," the manifesto noted, "is not based on the principles which would make it legal. You may laugh if you wish,

but in the long range principles are stronger than guns. It is principles that shape and nurture nations; it is principles which inspire the people to struggle and to die" (p 4).

There was no question in the mind of the young patriot of the need to organize the struggle of the people against the dictatorship and for a radical reorganization of Cuban society. However, the question of the means and methods of this struggle, the nature of revolutionary actions and the strategy and tactics of forthcoming battles was crucial. Under these circumstances Fidel Castro displayed one of his outstanding qualities as a true revolutionary: his willingness and ability to act, his daring and courage in making decisions aimed not at verbally condemning the hated regime but engaging in real actions and preparations for its overthrow. With a group of young revolutionaries, F. Castro drafted a plan for such actions, which eventually not only brought about the elimination of the dictatorship but opened to the country possibilities of revolutionary change.

At this point, we should mention that during that initial stage of the revolutionary confrontation, exposure to the most advanced social theory of our time -- Marxism-Leninism -- profoundly influenced Fidel Castro and his closest supporters. "The Marxist understanding of the class struggle," Castro emphasized, "was the ray of light which enabled us to be properly guided under the conditions of a complex situation, under the difficult conditions of the world, the society and the country in which we live" (p 256).

The study of the situation which had developed in the country led Castro and his fellow workers to the idea of the need and possibility of armed uprisings against the dictatorship. The people had to be raised to such action and armed with faith in the possibility of victory. Real example of open pressure on the tyranny had to be set. It is thus that the plan for storming the Moncada Barracks was born. According to Castro, the storming of Batista's fortress was to be the first step in the organization of a broad nationwide movement against the despotic regime and marked the beginning of the mass armed struggle.

The failure of the Moncada storming did not break the will of the revolutionaries. Nor did it force Fidel Castro to abandon his plans for the development of a broader revolutionary movement. The collection includes the full text of Castro's speech at the Moncada trial, well-known under the title of "History Will Acquit Me." This is a most outstanding political document, a confirmation of deep perspicacity and revolutionary passion, a political pamphlet and a comprehensive presentation of the program of future actions. Fidel Castro convincingly proved the existence of objective circumstances which made the struggle for the victory of the revolution possible and clearly formulated its immediate objectives. This speech, which was widely disseminated in Cuba, was a kind of programmatic document which was the base for the revolutionary "26 July Movement" which was spreading throughout the country. When Fidel Castro with a small group of supporters undertook to organize guerrilla warfare in the Sierra Maestra Mountains, in December 1956, he had acquired a firm belief in the support of the people's masses which were ready for revolutionary action. It was precisely in this that he saw a guarantee of victory. History fully justified the strategy and tactics of



revolutionary battles which Castro had chosen. "Unquestionably," he subsequently noted, "the victory of revolutionary power took place essentially thanks to the support of the masses" (p 89).

The victory of the 1 January 1959 revolution marked not only the overthrow of a dictatorship hated by the people. Essentially, it was a question of the further development of the revolutionary process and the strategy and tactics of revolutionary change. It is perhaps precisely at that time, which was of crucial importance to the destinies of the country, that the inordinate political talent of Fidel Castro and his qualities as outstanding leader of the people's masses were revealed in their entire magnitude.

In heading the revolutionary government of the republic, Castro initiated profound revolutionary changes in the country. As early as May 1959 he signed the agrarian reform law, which resulted in the nationalization of the big estates, and distributed the land among the toiling peasants who farmed it. At the same time, steps were taken radically to improve the material situation of the broad popular masses. Excessively high rents were cut by one half and electric power rates were lowered. A gradual elimination of mass unemployment was undertaken. Major efforts were made by the revolutionary government in the areas of education and health care. The improvement of all social life was underway: gambling, drugs, smuggling, prostitution and racial discrimination were banned. Thanks to Castro's confident leadership, the revolutionary process did not stop but instead gathered strength.

By no means did this fast process of radical change develop smoothly and painlessly. An obvious polarization of class forces developed in the country. The anti-Cuban policy of U.S. imperialism, which had proclaimed its drastically hostile position toward the revolutionary steps taken by the government of a country which for decades had been considered an "American preserve," was a serious threat to the victorious revolution. The national bourgeoisie became ever more closely allied with imperialism, the members of the oligarchy and the other forces removed from power. In answer to the U.S. aggressive actions the property of American monopolies was nationalized in September 1960; enterprises belonging to big national capital were nationalized in October. On 15 October 1960 Fidel Castro proclaimed that the tasks set in the "Moncada program" had been implemented.

During those decisive months, when the fate of the revolution was at stake, Fidel Castro did a truly gigantic work to enhance the political consciousness of the masses, to explain the objectives and tasks of the revolution and to draw the people into active revolutionary creative work. He used his frequent hours-long speeches on television and at mass meetings, and his numerous trips around the country and meetings with workers and peasants to promote systematically a turn of public opinion toward socialism. One should not forget that in prerevolutionary times Cuba had been exposed to the concentrated offensive of anti-communist ideology, which could not fail to influence the moods of the people's masses. The elimination of such anti-communist prejudices and making the people consciously accept socialist ideology were matters of prime importance, and Fidel Castro proved himself the unsurpassed master of political agitation and propaganda. He subsequently described that period as follows: remember the first years of the revolution.

Sometimes, out of curiosity, we asked various people, including workers, "Do you agree with the agrarian reform law? Do you agree with the law on rentals? Do you agree with the nationalization of the banks?" We were told, yes. "Do you believe that these mines should belong to the Cuban people and not to foreign companies, not to some people who live in New York?" "Yes." Therefore, there was support for each and all revolutionary laws. We then asked: "Do you agree with socialism?" "Oh no, no, no! No way!" (see pp 210-211). This example clearly illustrates how strongly the consciousness of the masses had become imbued with the poison of anti-communism. The tremendous work done by Fidel Castro at that time was directed precisely at purging the minds, explaining the basic principles of socialism and propagandizing the most progressive ideology.

During that period, Castro paid great attention to the organization of the new people's state, including its most important agencies, the purpose of which was to defend the revolutionary gains of the people: the revolutionary armed forces, the national revolutionary militia and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On his initiative, committees for the defense of the revolution were created throughout the country. This was the most popular organization in the country, which played a tremendous role in the struggle against the domestic and foreign counterrevolution.

The very logic of development of the revolutionary process in Cuba during those first years, Fidel Castro's tireless work and extensive efforts to promote the political education of the masses led to a change in the social consciousness and to the fact that the people understood the need to take the revolution to the end, i.e, to the victory of socialism. On 16 April 1961, in a speech at the funeral of the victims of the bombing by American mercenaries, Castro announced the socialist nature of the Cuban revolution (see page 82).

The transition from a people's democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist to a socialist revolution presented the country with new and equally difficult problems. It was necessary, above all, to create a truly political vanguard of the people, based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and able to organize and lead the masses in building socialism. In this process as well -- the process of the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist party in Cuba -- Fidel Castro played an exceptionally important role. The readers will see the firm consistency and passionate principle-mindedness with which the leader of the Cuban revolution struggled for achieving unity among all truly revolutionary forces and rallying the revolutionaries within a single organization based on the most progressive ideology of our time -- Marxism-Leninism.

As the head of the "26 July Movement," the people's-socialist (communist) party and the "13 March Revolutionary Directorate," Fidel Castro persistently struggled for purity in the ranks of the united revolutionary organizations and for support of Marxist-Leninist doctrine by all of their members. As early as the first stage of the unification, in December 1961, in a lecture on the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, Castro proclaimed that "I have absolute faith in Marxism!..." (p 122). In substantiating Cuba's socialist future he said: "The anti-imperialist and the socialist revolutions must unite, must blend within a single revolution, for there is only one revolution. Such is the great dialectical truth of mankind: imperialism and,

against imperialism, socialism. The result is the victory of socialism, the defeat of capitalism and imperialism and the advent of the era of socialism and, subsequently, the era of communism" (pp 133-134). However, the leading force of society -- the Marxist-Leninist party -- is absolutely necessary to guide the building of socialism. In speaking of the creation of such a party, Castro noted: "...it offers all the necessary conditions for drawing into its ranks the best, the most advanced elements among the masses, as members of its organization" (p 143).

Like any dialectical process, the establishment of the party in Cuba did not take place without difficulties and contradictions. The collection includes Castro's 26 March 1962 television speech, which was of essential importance in party building. In this speech Castro sharply criticized the sectarian trends noted in the activities of some leaders, which threatened the separation of the political vanguard from the masses and the transformation of the party into a "closed" organization, isolated from the people. Having detected this danger on time, Castro declared with Leninist principle-mindedness that the maturity of the party is defined by its attitude toward its own errors (see p 155). In insisting on the need for political courage, creative activeness and combativeness by all party members, he angrily opposed attempts to create a "party of the obedient, the submissive, the vain and the self-sufficient" (p 179). Again and again he stressed the need for close ties with the masses, emphasizing that "the masses are the makers of history, and it is precisely the masses who make history" (p 182). In assessing party building, he particularly emphasized that "I sincerely and firmly believe in the principles of collective leadership...." (p 186). "The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard of the working class," Castro emphasized, "is the free alliance of revolutionaries pursuing a principle-minded policy..." (p 198).

It is precisely as such that the readers see the comprehensive activities of the Communist Party of Cuba in guiding the process of building socialism, reflected in the speeches and addresses by the first secretary of its Central Committee, included in the collection. The historical analysis of the Cuban revolution, contained in Fidel Castro's speech at the 1st Party Congress, in December 1975, and excerpts of his reports at the 2nd (December 1980) and 3rd (February 1986) Party Congresses are of particular interest. Thus, in summing up the results of the 2nd Cuban 5-Year Plan (1981-1985), the leader of the Cuban Communist Party said with legitimate pride that "the growth rates of the gross national product averaged 7.3 percent, significantly exceeding the planned 5 percent, while industrial output averaged 8.8 percent," that "during the 5-year period labor productivity had increased by 5.2 percent annually" and that the "daily per capita consumption of calories had reached 2,900" (p 545). In noting these and other accomplishments, Castro also said from the rostrum of the 3rd Congress: "Our work was by no means optimal. As before, there are obvious shortcomings and errors which must be specifically indicated and against which we must firmly struggle. It is only then that we shall become worthy of the name communist!" (p 546). Castro's speech at the congress, in which all Cuban communists and all working people were presented with an expanded program for the further building of socialism, was distinguished by a spirit of party principle-mindedness, increased exigency and a specific analytical nature.

The process of the establishment of socialism on the Island of Freedom is taking place under circumstances marked by constant hostility toward the republic on the part of U.S. imperialism. Virtually all American presidents in the past quarter of a century of the existence of revolutionary Cuba have pursued against it a policy of threats and pressure, economic blockade and blackmail, trying with all their forces to hinder the peaceful toil of the Cuban people. Under such circumstances, the activities of the leadership and of Fidel Castro in strengthening the country's defense capability and educating the masses in a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism assume particular significance. The reader will find in the collection numerous speeches by Castro on the need for a skillful defense of revolutionary gains. As early as 1961, the leader of the Cuban revolution said: "...the imperialists should know that however great our difficulties may be, however hard our struggle may be in building our homeland and the struggle for building the future of our country and for a truly worthy history of our country, they should not nurture even the slightest illusions on our account" (p 133). In April 1970, Castro warned most clearly that "any time that the imperialist Yankees would invade Cuba, we will fight for our cause to the last drop of blood, to the last man!" (p 217). At the 3rd Communist Party of Cuba Congress, the first secretary of its Central Committee informed the delegates that the country had a reliable defense system which guaranteed the peaceful constructive toil of the Cuban people.

Cuba is living and developing in a complex contemporary world. It is natural, therefore, that the speeches and addresses of its leader cover numerous problems related to international relations and foreign policy. The Communist Party of Cuba pays particular attention to strengthening close cooperation with the socialist states. Cuba's participation in CEMA activities is of great importance to the country's economic upsurge. "We believe," Castro emphasized in his speech at the 79th session of the CEMA Executive Committee in January 1977, "that the tremendous geographic distance which separates us and differences in the historical and cultural environment which surrounds Cuba and the other CEMA member countries not only do not hinder but help us better to understand the nature of CEMA and appreciate the historical step of the participation of our country in its activities since 1972" (pp 325-326). In emphasizing the international nature of socialism, Castro pointed out that CEMA proves the mandatorily internationalist nature of socialism as proclaimed by Marx and Engels and confirmed through Lenin's revolutionary practice, who felt with his exceptional brilliance that the historical progress of socialism is bound to lead to a growing interconnection and subsequent integration among different socialist countries in a cooperation which, as it grows, will increasingly approach the form of human society of which he dreamed so frequently, in which the old boundaries will disappear, national contradictions and antagonism among countries will vanish forever and different languages and cultures will not be, as they are now, elements of separation but a means of unification and mutual enrichment" (p 327).

As an active member of the socialist community, Cuba also ascribes great importance in its foreign policy to strengthening relations with the developing countries and to solving the problem of the third world. The high prestige of the republic in the nonaligned movement, of which it is a charter member, was confirmed by the fact that in 1979-1983 Fidel Castro was the

movement's chairman. The reader will find in the collection Castro's serious and profound statements on third world problems and his thoughts on the need for close interaction between liberated and socialist countries. Closely linking problems of economic development of third world countries to the solution of social problems, Castro asserts that "our true unity depends not on temporary nonalignment but on a more profound and permanent unity based on revolutionary principles, a common anti-imperialist program and the aspiration to obtain essential and definitive social changes" (p 268).

Firmly defending the cause of peace and raising its voice against the threat of nuclear catastrophe and for real progress in disarmament, the leader of socialist Cuba particularly emphasizes that peace must be guaranteed to all nations on earth: "We want the type of peace the results of which could be equally used by the great and the small, by the strong and the weak, a peace which would be extended to all areas on earth and in the shade of which all people on earth would live" (p 370).

The reader of Fidel Castro's selected works will come across yet another "related" topic which runs through many of the speeches of the leader of the Cuban revolution: the topic of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the Republic of Cuba and the Soviet Union and between the Cuban and Soviet peoples. As we know, the Soviet Union extended a hand of fraternal aid to Cuba during the very first post-revolutionary years and for the past more than 25 years our countries and peoples have been linked with the ties of true friendship, based on the great principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The Cuban people consider such relations of mutual trust and respect the greatest accomplishment of the revolution. They see in the USSR a true and reliable ally. The feelings of the Cubans toward Lenin's homeland, the homeland of the October revolution, are expressed in many of Fidel Castro's speeches. Thus, at the solemn session in Havana on the occasion of the centennial of V.I. Lenin's birth, the Cuban leader said: "Without the October 1917 revolution Cuba could not have become the first socialist country in Latin America" (p 214). In answering the Washington administration, which tried to base "normalizing" relations with Cuba on the latter's abandonment of its policy of friendship with the USSR, Fidel Castro declared most firmly that "we shall never break our political and military ties with the Soviet Union" (p 222).

At the fourth conference of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries, in Algiers, in September 1973, he emphasized the following: "Without the October revolution and without the immortal exploit of the Soviet people, who were the first to withstand imperialist intervention and blockade and, subsequently, to repel and defeat the fascist aggressor at the cost of 20 million human lives, and which developed its technology and economics at the cost of incredible efforts and heroism, without exploiting the toil of a single worker or a single country on earth, the liquidation of colonialism and the establishment of a correlation of forces in the world, which is assisting the heroic struggle of so many peoples for their liberation, would have been absolutely impossible" (p 264). Quite recently, from the rostrum of the historical 27th CPSU Congress, the leader of the Cuban revolution said: "We believe in Lenin's great homeland..." (p 561). This feeling of faith and profound friendship, which links the peoples of the homeland of the October

revolution and the Island of Freedom, is a priceless ideological treasure, developed in the peoples of our countries by their communist vanguard.

A close study of Fidel Castro's selected works will not question even for a minute the accuracy of his words: "We were the first to make a socialist revolution on the American continent. This is a high honor which we were able to defend under very difficult conditions and which we shall never lose!" (p 227).

Socialism has sunk deep roots in Cuban soil. The people of the republic live and work for the sake of strengthening and developing the gains of the revolution, and the Soviet people wish them further successes in building their new society.

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## CONTEMPORARY WORLD: TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS

### ECOLOGY AND PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12 Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) p 110

[Text] An international theoretical conference on environmental protection and the defense of peace will take place in Varna, Bulgaria at the end of August 1986.

Two powerful sociopolitical trends will merge within a single movement, consistent with the objective requirement of our time: saving mankind from the catastrophe toward which it is pushed by the forces of global reaction. The gravity of the global contradictions, which affect the very foundations of the existence of civilization, has reached an unparalleled level today.

A qualitative leap is taking place in the productive forces of mankind, opening to it new horizons in its advance toward the kingdom of freedom and, at the same time, establishing a new relationship between man and nature. However, the new achievements of scientific and technical progress could also become destructive forces. "Never before has our earthly home been subjected to such political and physical stresses," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 27th CPSU Congress. "Never before has man taken so much from nature and never before has he been so vulnerable to the power he has created himself."

In 1980 the Bulgarian journal ZASHITTA NA PRIRODATA opened an international theory conference by correspondence on "Man and Nature," for an exchange of views among ecologists from different countries on the current socioecological situation. At its regular meetings, the international elected scientific management of the conference discussed results and set new assignments. Daily management and coordination throughout this time was provided by Bulgarian scientists under the aegis of the All-National Committee for the Protection of Nature of the Fatherland Front National Council.

This international conference gained extensive scientific and social publicity. It laid firm foundations for holding a regular meeting. Its program will reflect the interests of the fighters for peace and anyone concerned with the fate of nature on our unique planet -- the planet of people -- and with ensuring peace and life itself on earth.

The article which follows is by the noted Soviet mathematician Nikita Nikolayevich Moiseyev.

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## ECOLOGICAL IMPERATIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12 Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 110-120

[Article by Academician N. Moiseyev]

[Text] Mankind has entered a new age in its life, when the potential of the means it has developed for influencing the habitat becomes commensurate with the powerful forces of nature on the planet. This instills in us both pride and fear, for it is fraught with consequences about which until recently we had no reason to think seriously but which (as is entirely obvious today) can lead to the destruction of civilization and even of all life on earth. This means that anyone responsible for scientific and technical progress and, even more so, for the use of its accomplishments for practical purposes, faces the objective requirement of taking into consideration the vulnerability of the environment, preventing the crossing of its "threshold of strength," penetrating more profoundly into the nature of its specific complex and interrelated phenomena and avoiding a conflict with natural laws in order to prevent irreversible processes. Scientific forecasts must be the foundation for any actions aimed at transforming nature. The implementation of this requirement is mandatory, regardless of the scale of the undertaking -- regional, continental or planetary. We consider this requirement an ecological imperative. It must be respected not only by those whose activities are economic but also by the political leadership, the actions of which determines the means of solving international problems.

The term "human ecology" appeared in recent decades. Translated from the Greek, the word "ecology" means study of one's home. In the case of mankind, however, this applies to the entire planet. Consequently, the meaning we ascribe to this word is that of a global problem, the problem of the study of the habitat as a single planetary entity in the entire set of interaction among social and natural factors, in which the social factor is given priority, for it means the conscious and purposeful activity of the people who are actively pursuing their interests. Therefore, we must take into consideration not only the power of contemporary production forces but also the nature of production relations on which the complex structure of corresponding social institutes is superimposed. Said superstructure, as we know, includes the sum total of spiritual phenomena, the human "ideal," which influences the form and content of human activities. Ecological awareness is



part of such phenomena. Its pivot is the ecological imperative as the realization of the objective need to take into consideration not simply the laws of nature but the "technical stipulations" which nature formulates for us. Let me immediately stipulate in connection with this expression that although I do not work at all in the humanities, I reject the technocratic or science-oriented view on the world and on practical transforming activities. No, it is man who is the measure of everything, as the ancient philosophers said. To the extent of the limits set by nature itself, I consider above all the interests of man, who lives in it and who transforms nature with his toil and thus develops his own self. "History itself is an actual part of the history of nature and the establishment of the nature of man" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 42, p 124).

It is entirely clear that the natural scientific and humanitarian aspects are monolithically blended within the ecological imperative. I believe that in this case we should see one within the other, these aspects being indivisible. The active "alloying ingredient" -- not a mechanical "admixture" but, precisely, organically effective factors which give the blend its specific qualities -- is the political awareness which expresses a social orientation. In speaking of the ecological imperative we do not ignore political realities. We do not try to "rise" above them but see the entire complexity and contradictory nature of the contemporary world in which, along with the intensification of global trends based on the growing industrial pressure and consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, the interaction among heterogeneous economic and social processes becomes aggravated. From this viewpoint as well the problem of preventing global ecological crises assumes an important role in the science of ecology.

In our planet's history, ecological crises and catastrophes have repeatedly shaken up the biosphere, bringing death to many living species and, at the same time, changing the genotype structure of the animate world. The reasons for such catastrophes included, in addition to geological processes occurring within earth itself, a primarily external, cosmic effects such as, for example, a clash with interplanetary bodies or changes in the parameters of the earth's orbit and the position of the axles of planetary rotation. However unlikely such reasons may seem, we should not exclude their occurrence in the future. In general, the people should take into consideration the possible occurrence of such ecological crises.

Today, however, we are much more concerned with ecological crises caused by the people themselves. As society develops, the influence of man on nature increases and becomes ever broader. Such influence has frequently resulted in catastrophic consequences. Thus, at the dawn of civilization, the unwise use of irrigation and excessive cattle grazing led to the loss of land fertility in North Africa and the Middle East. Other historical examples of ecological crises caused by limited practical and scientific knowledge may be cited.

Ecological crises in the past, triggered by practical actions, were of a local nature. They did not threaten mankind as a whole. Matters are different today, with the tremendous increase in the technical and energy powers gained by civilization. The conflict between man and surrounding nature is worsened by social contradictions. Under capitalist conditions, they are of an

antagonistic nature. The question of the ecological imperative appeared in its entire gravity on the international level with the mastery of nuclear power and its military application.

The study of the consequences of a possible nuclear war -- destructions caused by most powerful explosions, the spreading of radiation and biological damages -- was undertaken throughout the world after the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Studies have been conducted in recent years on effects on the climate. Attention was drawn to them by the end of the 1970s, subsequent to a theoretical study conducted at the Max Planck Institute (FRG) of the possible outbreak of large-scale fires. It turned out that in the case of nuclear strikes on big cities dense clouds of ashes would rise and almost totally block the light of the sun. Depending on the nature of the fire, such clouds would allow through from one thousandth to one millionth part of the light which the earth receives under normal conditions. Total darkness would prevail and temperatures would drop sharply.

On the basis of these computations, American astronomer Carl Sagan developed several "scenarios" of climatic consequences of a nuclear war. According to his assessments, the use of an even insignificant percentage of the currently accumulated nuclear potential would suffice for ash clouds through which solar rays would not penetrate to hang over a significant area of the Northern Hemisphere. The words "nuclear night" and "nuclear winter" appeared in the press....

The next step was taken at the computer center of the USSR Academy of Sciences where, by that time, the first version, as the specialists say, of a mathematical model of the biosphere was created. We started this work at the beginning of the 1970s with a view to obtaining a tool for the study of the biosphere as a single entity. By the beginning of the 1980s we had already mastered a computed system (a computed (or simulation) system is a term indicating a set of mathematical models simulating a phenomenon under study linked by the controlling program within a single entity and supplied with the necessary software which makes it possible to conduct complex mathematical experiments with objects the direct experimentation with which is impossible), capable of assessing the characteristics of global processes developing in the biosphere and, above all, the atmosphere and the ocean. By then we had already acquired experience in conducting large-scale experiments with the computation system we had developed. In the course of its study it was natural to use the various consequences of nuclear war based on already developed "scenarios," and, in particular, to trace the fate of such clouds of ashes which would appear as a result of fires caused by nuclear strikes on cities. The computations were made by USSR Academy of Sciences Computer Center associates V. V. Aleksandrov and G. L. Stenchikov in the summer of 1983. They made it possible to clarify the climatic changes which could occur as a result of the events described in Sagan's "scenario" (see N. N. Moiseyev, V. V. Aleksandrov and A. M. Tarko, "Chelovek i Biosfera" [Man and the Biosphere], Moscow, 1985). It turned out that all the dust clouds which would rise up during the first month after the catastrophe would merge, resulting in total changes in the structure of atmospheric circulation. Gradually, the black cloud would spread throughout the planet and cover the earth with a dense and virtually impenetrable blanket.

The optical thickness (i.e., the degree of light penetration) of the dust cloud would depend on the scale of the nuclear catastrophe. If the sum total of nuclear strikes is in the order of 10,000 megatons (i.e., half a million bombs the size of the one dropped on Hiroshima), no more than from one ten thousandth to one one hundred thousandth percent of the light would reach the earth's surface. Assuming that the power of the strikes would be only ("only!") one hundred megatons, which is the equivalent of a nuclear strike by several submarines, the planet would be covered with a dust cloud which would allow only one hundredth of the usual amount of solar light.

The earth would begin to cool off quite rapidly the moment the solar energy is no longer received on its surface. In the first month after the catastrophe the mean temperature would drop by 15-20 or more degrees. This means that a below freezing temperature would cover the virtually entire land and abnormally strong colds would break out in some areas. (The temperature would drop by 40 or more degrees in Saudi Arabia, Yakutiya and the eastern seaboard of the United States). Above freezing temperatures would remain only on the surface of the oceans which are huge heat reservoirs. The atmosphere would become quite stable. Convection would disappear and a return to normal conditions would be extremely slow.

The clearing up would depend on the power of the weapons used: with a strike of a total power of 100 megatons it would begin by the end of the third month after the catastrophe; with a strike of 10,000 megatons, one year later the atmosphere would still not be entirely free from ashes and the parameters of the biosphere would have changed substantially.

The model drafted in the Soviet Union enabled us to assess the nature of climatic consequences for a period of one year. Similar computations were made in the United States as well. The American specialists had at their disposal only a model of atmospheric circulation, which allowed them to make their computations covering only the first month after a nuclear catastrophe. However, one year later, quite similar computations were made in the United States, the results of which virtually coincided with ours.

Generally speaking, even on the level of an ordinary awareness, without any refined mathematical experiments, one would realize that nuclear strikes equaling the available power would be catastrophic for the biosphere as a whole. However, in the political thinking of our opponents demagoguery frequently prevails over common sense. Today the scientists have brought forth additional arguments the strength of which lies in their clarity and the mathematical substantiation of the consequences of a dangerous situation both as a whole and in its details. Furthermore, the results have become the object of open scientific discussions by broad circles of scientists throughout the world, holding different ideological and political views. Scientific workers enjoy a high reputation in the contemporary world.

For example, the American professor Thomas (Malone) said at a scientific gathering that "not one of my colleagues... has intended or intends to become a nuclear strategist. The present dangerous trend in international affairs, however, when "sober" voices on the possibility of continued life on earth after a nuclear war are being heard, has forced the scientists to undertake

computations and check the "arguments" of the supporters of this viewpoint. Our common conclusion, sad though it may be, is the following: all existing scenarios of nuclear war are accurate and plausible; the results of scientific studies indicate with perfect clarity that a contemporary nuclear war would be the final tragedy in the history of mankind. If this harsh truth could be told to all people on earth today we, scientists, hope that this would force mankind to find a way of understanding one another and think in a new way and, in considering past errors, safeguard our future.... On the matter of assessing the consequences of nuclear catastrophe, the majority of my colleagues -- be they Soviet or American scientists -- are unanimous."

The studies made in 1983 indicated most clearly that a nuclear war would be fatal to all mankind. The very act of a nuclear strike already brings with itself a retribution to those who inflict it and, should such a war break out, it would be the death of all people wherever they may be -- Europe, Asia, America or Africa. In 1984 - 1985 Yu. M. Svirezhev made a detailed study of changes in the biosphere which could arise as a result of nuclear war, at the USSR Academy of Sciences Computer Center, within the framework of international SCOPE program (SCOPE -- International Scientific Committee for the Study of Problems of Environmental Protection). The studies revealed that a radical change would take place in the biosphere. The majority of superior animals and plants would probably perish. The equatorial zone and the middle latitudes would particularly suffer. It is not excluded that after a while once again the biosphere would become the kingdom of procaryotes.

These works deal not with the consequences of nuclear war but the consequences of the fires such war would trigger. Other physical and physical-chemical effects would develop as well. Fires and clouds of dust may appear even without nuclear strikes. Vortexes of fire (fire tornadoes as they are now being described) destroyed Hamburg in 1943 and Dresden in 1945, as a result of the use of conventional weapons. One could imagine what would take place if contemporary non-nuclear weapons, the power of which is immeasurably superior to that at the disposal of the armed forces in World War II, are applied. Therefore, the studies made in the 1980s indicated the extreme danger of the use of contemporary mass destruction weapons.

Equally harmful would be a "sliding catastrophe," in which the danger would develop imperceptibly. A study of such situations was also made at the USSR Academy of Sciences Computer Center.

The thresholds of changes in biospheric parameters which allow the existence of civilization are amazingly thin. For example, a drop in the average annual temperature of the earth by 3.5-4 degrees would have most severe consequences. A temperature increase by 4-5 degrees would be no less dangerous. Yet a warming up of the earth's climate if the extensive increase in power industry continues would be inevitable. Without the greenhouse effect, which is determined essentially by water steam and carbon dioxide, the average temperature on the planet would be 33-34 degrees lower. This means that life on earth would be impossible. The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is increasing steadily. It is currently 17 percent higher than it was at the turn of the century. It will double in 50 years. What would be the consequences? A study was made in 1980 with the help of our system of

modeling the biosphere. It turned out that such an increase in the concentration of carbon dioxide would be sufficient substantially to change the structure of atmospheric circulation and moisture transfer and, as a result, the distribution of biota productivity. Further desertification would take place in a number of areas on earth, which would affect the Eurasian steppe. Therefore, a drop in agricultural potential would be expected in these areas. Meanwhile, conditions for agricultural production would worsen in central and northwestern Russia, the Baltic area and Belorussia and the northern and western parts of the Ukraine: the temperature would become warmer and precipitation would increase. Such data are already assuming not only scientific but also practical significance.

With the help of mathematical machine experimentation, we are preparing to conduct studies on the consequences of a number of other large-scale anthropogenic influences. Thus, for example, the oceans are being continually polluted, which leads to changes in the nature of interaction between them and the atmosphere, which could substantially affect at one point the planet's climate. In the polluted water areas of the ports evaporation from the water surface drops by 20-30 and even 40 percent. Evaporation from the surface of the oceans is the main source of moisture and the basis of life on the planet.

What about acid rain? Caused by the power and chemical industries, it is becoming a calamity affecting huge areas, changing their natural features.

Let us not even mention the various types of engineering projects, such as changing river flows and maritime currents, etc., which are entirely possible technologically but which could become sources of irreversible changes in the overall human habitat. We are being cautioned on all sides against the thoughtless use of contemporary technical power. The further development of mankind and the progress of civilization increasingly requires scientific forecasting of possible situations, with the ecological imperative in mind.

Briefly stated, the ecological imperative forces mankind to think and live differently. An appeal to this effect was clearly sounded at the 27th CPSU Congress. Our task is to ensure its persistent implementation.

The accomplishments of modern science, which considers man, mankind and its environment as a single system, is the base of an ecological policy.

I believe that domestic science has given us a particularly valuable methodological foundation. Materialism, system, and aspiration toward broad summations on the basis of a spontaneous-dialectical approach have always been inherent in the thinking of Russian natural scientists. Within the framework of this tradition the works of V. I. Vernadskiy are of particular importance in this matter. As early as the end of the 19th century he began to formulate concepts on the further development of the biosphere. According to him, the entire aspect of our planet, its topography, the entire thickness of alluvial deposits and the chemical composition of the atmosphere and the ocean are the result of the activities of living beings. Life is not an accidental play of nature. It is the consequence of the processes of self-organization developing within it and a natural stage in the development of the space body known as the earth. An equally legitimate stage is the appearance of man, of

human society. It marks a new quality in the life of the biosphere, the development of which is increasingly affected by purposeful human activities. On the basis of overall cultural views, V. I. Vernadskiy realized that man will have deliberately to assume responsibility for the further destiny of the biosphere. This is a necessary condition for the development of civilization.

V. I. Vernadskiy gave the human habitat, controlled by scientific intelligence, the name of noosphere, thoughts about which crowd his scientific notes. The transformation of the biosphere into noosphere means not only a qualitatively new stage in the development of human society but also a new period in the evolution of our cosmic home.

A very important factor in V. I. Vernadskiy's theory was a clear understanding of the fact that this transition cannot take place automatically. Man has always changed his environment to suit his interests. At the same time, he himself adapted to its features and changes. For a long time all of this took place quite slowly and spontaneously. Gradually, however, the intensive effect of man on nature became increasingly strong. V. I. Vernadskiy assumed that the time would inevitably come when man would become the main factor in the evolution of the biosphere and, once this had happened, the features of the environment could change so rapidly that mankind would be required to formulate a unified strategy for the development of the biosphere and new standards for his organization and way of life.

The aspiration of outstanding natural scientists to interpret their environment and understand the trends in its development and their efforts to depict the society of the future are quite typical. Lenin said that specialists will accept communism through the data of their science, by following their own way. It is precisely this trend that we see in the evolution of V. I. Vernadskiy's views. It is no accident that during the harsh period of the end of World War II he wrote: "We are entering the noosphere.... What is important to us is that the ideals of our democracy are consistent with the spontaneous geological process and the laws of nature and with the noosphere. We can look at our future, therefore, with confidence. It is in our hands. We shall not lose it" (V. I. Vernadskiy, "Khimicheskoye Stroyeniye Biosfery Zemli i Eyo Okruzheniya" [The Chemical Structure of the Earth and Its Environment]. Moscow, 1965, p 329).

The problem which V. I. Vernadskiy considered had a number of unknown features: we are still largely unaware, we have a poor idea of our possibilities in critical situations. New scientific discoveries and technical accomplishments await us. The multiplicity of conditions needed for the development and the differences in objectives, the conflicting nature of aspirations and value systems of people living under different social and natural conditions, etc., present tremendous difficulties. Nevertheless, we must as of now, by virtue of the ecological imperative, seek and adopt the decisions it dictates.

As scientific experience indicates, in problem situations we must not immediately look for the "definitive best" solution or formulate an "absolutely optimal" strategy. Above all, we must study the features of the task and define actions which should not be allowed under any circumstances.

This is not too difficult. We found a solution by taking as an example the study of the consequences of nuclear war. This approach in itself does not lead to a single way of action but preserves an adequate freedom of choice which enables us to observe a variety of additional stipulations and solve contradictions which cannot be taken into consideration in the initial scenario.

Therefore, the ecological imperative expresses the need to assess the consequences of any activity related to interfering with the natural environment. Such assessment calls for the study of various alternatives of solutions on the state or international level and, therefore, the creation of corresponding institutions, legal stipulations and procedural systems which will interlink intragovernmental (intradepartmental, intraregional) or intergovernmental interests.

A number of plans which can lead to a drop in ecological stability and result in the gradual destruction of the condition of the biosphere needed for the proper existence of mankind are being suggested within national frameworks of various countries. Such plans frequently pursue narrow departmental interests. In order to avoid errors, any decision made must be made public in order to take into consideration the views not only of the designers but of the scientific public at large, the entire population. A legal backing of such publicity is needed and the formulation of an entirely clear procedure, particularly when matters affect large areas with a multi-million strong population (such as, for example, solving problems related to the regional reallocation of water resources), in order not only to increase the responsibility of the specialists but also the high scientific quality of the projects themselves.

We must accept as a law a guaranteed procedure according to which any project which substantially affects ecological conditions should be studied as part of a special interdepartmental research program. It is especially an interdepartmental study which can lead to an objective opinion consistent with the national interest.

Obviously, any further social and ecological development will increasingly motivate society radically to interfere in the structure of the biosphere and to change its local features. Each such interference, however, must be preceded by a profound preliminary study of the situation and the decision should be made when it has been most obviously and scientifically proved that without the implementation of the new plan any further real life is impossible and that its implementation would not substantially worsen the ecological situation. Obviously, the USSR Academy of Sciences, in cooperation with sectorial academies and ministries, could carry out such studies. Matters of this kind should not involve departmentalism, parochialism or exclusivity. Nor should there be any monopoly on scientific information, when it is a question of ecological problems which affect the interests of large territories and demand for their solution the participation of representatives of various areas of science and practical work and various institutions and establishments. The ecological imperative presumes high professional ethics in which nothing would be more important than scientific truth and civic duty.

The system of preliminary comprehensive ecological expert evaluations must be based on the country's entire intellectual and professional potential. The legal and organizational structures of such studies are a different subject. It is entirely clear, however, that an ecological expert evaluation should have a clear and reliable legal status and be backed by the necessary resources. The USSR Academy of Sciences has currently developed a concept on temporary scientific collectives. This form of work may be useful also in carrying out preplanning research.

However, national means and national organizations may be insufficient in assessing and comparing various choices of large-scale human activities. This may require international cooperation. Today many nature-changing measures, carried out by one country or another, may have various and far-reaching consequences which affect the ecological conditions of other countries and could affect the biosphere as a whole. For example, the pollution of the Gulf of Mexico, where the Gulf Stream originates, could change its features to such an extent that this would immediately affect the European climate. The influence of ecological phenomena triggered by the development of the chemical industry, the use of coal in the power industry and other economic activities, is continuing to grow rapidly.

Finally, nuclear electric power plants are another factor of ecological stress. All of us must draw serious lessons from the Chernobyl accident. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed the report of the governmental commission on the results of the investigation of the reasons for the accident and the measures for the elimination of its consequences and for ensuring the safety of the nuclear power industry.

The Chernobyl events reinforced the gravity of the need for extensive international cooperation and joint efforts by different countries in the area of nuclear power industry. Loyal to its principles, the Soviet Union suggests to the other countries to work together to reduce to zero the possibility of accidents in the work of nuclear power systems throughout the world.

The special session of the MAGATE General Conference, planned for September, will be of major importance in this respect.

The nuclear power industry is a new social phenomenon which raises the economic imperative to a qualitatively higher level as confirmed, in particular, by the report of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which came out in Washington last July, with a list of the "worst managed" nuclear reactors in the United States. It was drafted for the power and trade subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Carelessness and insufficient attention paid to correcting minor breakdowns, poor management and technical services were among the reasons named as the main factors which put the nuclear power plants mentioned in the report on the verge of a dangerous breakdown with unpredictable consequences.

The other aspect of the problem of the safety of nuclear power projects is related to preventing their deliberate destruction as a result of military operations or acts of terrorism. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo stated



that a reliable system of measures must be drafted to prevent nuclear terrorism in all of its manifestations.

Firm safety on our planet is inconceivable without halting preparations for nuclear war and totally eliminating the means of waging it. The Soviet Union is fully resolved to seek, despite the fierce opposition of the military-industrial complex in the West, the implementation of the suggested program for freeing the world from nuclear weapons by the end of this century. Ever since it was formulated on 15 January 1986, our country has submitted specific suggestions which would make a real agreement possible at all talks on limiting armaments and disarmament.

Curbing the nuclear arms race and taking real steps to reduce nuclear weapons and to terminate their testing must be a turning point in securing international safety.

The following demand was voiced once again at the international scientific symposium on "Science, Technology and Peace," which was held by the end of July in Moscow and was dedicated to the fortieth anniversary of the World Federation of Scientists (VFMR): the world public expects of the American administration a positive answer to the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions.

The appeal by the scientists who participated in this meeting to the heads of states and governments stipulated among others that "we are firmly convinced that the termination and total prohibition of nuclear tests will be an important step on the way to nuclear disarmament. We highly rate the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests and call upon the U.S. administration immediately to join it and start talks on the total banning of nuclear explosions. At the same time, we appeal to the leaders of all nuclear powers not to hold nuclear tests but to help reach as soon as possible an agreement on their universal banning with the strictest and broadest possible control, the effectiveness of which can be ensured entirely through modern technical means and on-site inspection.... We support the idea of combining efforts and the scientific and technical potentials of all countries for the peaceful utilization of outer space and the solution of the global problems of mankind. We are deeply convinced that the achievements of science and technology should serve the good of the people, peace and progress rather than the creation of ever-new means of destruction and annihilation."

Mankind is a sum of different countries, peoples, classes and individual groups. They have different objectives and interests. However, they share the same planet, which is unique in the visible outer space. The common alternative is to preserve peaceful life on earth and ensure for mankind a way to true prosperity and social progress. The ecological imperative is also a matter of the overall strategy of safeguarding peace on earth.

In our politically divided world is such a coordination of efforts basically possible? Studies conducted over the past 15 years allow me to answer this question in the affirmative.

Obviously, the natural scientist has his own arguments which may be entirely different from those of politicians and philosophers. It seems to me, however, that this too is noteworthy. In any case, on the level of the ordinary scientific awareness of someone with a skill not in the area of the humanities, if I may say so, in a language accessible to the understanding of colleagues which have political concepts different from ours, this could be developed with the example of models. Cooperative mechanisms have always played an essentially important role among evolutionary processes which ensure the development of life. With the appearance of man and labor efforts they have assumed particular significance. Cooperative mechanisms can function only when people develop common interests and common objectives. It is only then that one could speak of cooperation. Let us note that such cooperation presumes a certain compromise: one must concede something for the sake of achieving the overall objective which, under certain circumstances, becomes dominant. General objectives are not always sufficient in ensuring a cooperative agreement. What are the conditions which make a compromise possible, i.e., which make possible a joint agreement advantageous to all participants? We decided to model this problem with the USSR Academy of Sciences Computer Center at the start of the 1970s.

The first important type of such problems was discovered by Yu. B. Germeyyer. It encompasses a large number of ecological situations. Let me cite a simple example: let us assume that two enterprises belonging to different departments are located on the bank of the same lake. Each one of them has its own specific objective, which is meeting certain plan indicators or social requirements, and so on. Briefly, they have different interests (not conflicting but not identical either). However, both enterprises need clean water for their work. Therefore, in addition to their "egotistical" objectives they also share a common objective: to preserve the purity of the water. Both enterprises must allocate some of their profits to joint efforts to clean the water reservoir. Rejecting such an agreement could only lead to losses. The theoretical compromise is, to a certain extent, optimal, suiting both partners. All proofs of this are based on a specific feature of the situation under consideration: the more funds are invested in the treatment of the water, the cleaner the water will become. This function of singleness of a common target function may not exist in all situations in which the different sides (partners or opponents) share, in addition to their specific objectives, a common objective. For this reason we pursued our studies and new results were obtained in recent years. In 1984, for example, we were able to prove that in a difficult conflict situation such as the nuclear arms race a certain objective threshold exists, the crossing of which would be fatal (see N. N. Moiseyev, V. V. Aleksandrov and A. M. Tarko, op. cit.). In order not to cross this threshold a condition is necessary: the participants in the arms race must try to reduce the risk of nuclear war. Without this prerequisite no agreement can be achieved. It is senseless to mention to a pathological suicide the danger of walking on the ledge of the roof of a tall building.

Therefore, in recent years a certain understanding has developed of the nature of the tools used in the study of numerous models related to the problems of stability of the ecological situation on the planet, taking political factors into consideration as well.

The successful development of methods of mathematical modeling enables us to evaluate the consequences of large-scale actions and to indicate the limits which mankind must not overstep under any circumstances. The foundations have been laid for a mathematical theory which enables us to find "cooperative agreements," i.e., to formulate decisions which contribute to connecting individual targets with common interests.

V. I. Vernadskiy was unquestionably right by assuming that in the course of progress in the reorganizing activities of mankind science will play a decisive role in organizing the biosphere on a new basis and determining the nature of human behavior. We must not lose a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the planet: the creation of an ecological imperative must stimulate the efforts of the people and their aspiration to understand and achieve the conversion of the biosphere into the noosphere.

Modern science has already laid a certain basis for the natural scientific, so to say, possibility of such an opportunity and the need for international cooperation aimed at preventing likely ecological crises. However, the ecological imperative cannot be restricted merely to such studies and actions. It demands much more from everyone and not from the scientists alone, in terms of new standards of behavior and thinking, fully consistent with the tasks and conditions of the present complex stage in human history.

The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress and other speeches by M. S. Gorbachev formulate most seriously the problem of the need for a new way of thinking in the nuclear age. Mankind must accept it as an urgent requirement, for no other choices are possible if we wish to survive and preserve life on earth.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ALL ABOUT DEMOGRAPHY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12 Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 121-123

[Review by S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book "Demograficheskiy Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar" [Demographic Encyclopedia]. D. I. Valentey, editor-in-chief. Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, Moscow, 1985, 608 pp]

[Text] We have already begun to forget the time when demographic processes were considered secondary, when a large number of scientific and practical workers assumed that the advantages of socialist economic management system must "automatically" trigger a stable population growth, the strengthening of the family, a reduction in mortality and a longer life span.

The party and the Soviet government continue to pay increasingly close attention to population problems which were aggravated in the 1960s and 1970s. Demographic problems assumed a major role in social policy. As we know, the 27th CPSU Congress directed all of us to the implementation of difficult and responsible social programs, to resolving the housing problem and ensuring the further improvements in our people's education and culture and to improving their health.

The contemporary status of demographic processes and the trends which appeared and, let me particularly emphasize, their different consequences continued to cause major concern among the specialists and provide all the necessary reasons to consider the demographic situation as adverse. This fact was reemphasized at the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

What are the main characteristics of the existing situation? What are the prospects for correcting it? Finally, what is the situation of the science of demography at home and abroad? We find a deal of information for consideration of these and many other equally important problems in the new fundamental work under review. This work immediately drew the attention of specialists and a wide range of readers concerned with demographic problems.

The dictionary was compiled jointly by Izdatelstvo Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, together with the Center for the Study of Population Problems of the Economics Department of the Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov. The authors

of this major work include some 270 scientists and practical workers. Some articles were written by demographers from several socialist countries. The theme is based on the structure of demographic science. Furthermore, this dictionary, which is a universal encyclopedic publication dealing with population problems, formulates basic population problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, the theory of scientific communism and the entire set of sciences and scientific trends which are part of demographic knowledge.

In addition to being social and national, the demographic factor is one of the most important components of societal development. Quite unfortunately, so far this thesis has not been developed to the necessary extent in our basic sciences. The authors of the dictionary have tried to have their say in this area, albeit quite modestly. It is equally important to emphasize that the reader will find included articles on the Marxist-Leninist theory of population and the most important works of Marx, Engels and V. I. Lenin dealing with such problems to one extent or another.

A encyclopedic publication is not a collection of "pioneering" articles. That is why we can justifiably consider it a publication which reflects the current status and development of Soviet demography and, I deem it necessary to add, of related sciences. I have to agree with the editors who prefaced the demographic dictionary with a small article in which they write that a "scientific encyclopedic publication... must not only reflect a given level of scientific knowledge but also contribute to the manifestation and assertion of positive trends in its development.

This dictionary is the first truly encyclopedic publication on demography. Short demographic dictionaries have been published in several foreign countries. In some cases, however, they have been simply dictionaries for the benefit of translators; in others they have included a relatively small range of demographic terminology. Works have also been published in which an attempt was made to provide a systematized presentation of the sum total of knowledge on the subject of demography. This applies above all, to the "Population Encyclopedia" (Tokyo, 1957). The "International Population Encyclopedia" (volumes 1-2, New York - London, 1982) is a collection of previously published articles. It contains extensive factual data the interpretation of which, however, is eclectic, distinguished by the apologetic nature and class limitation of the methodological approach typical of bourgeois research.

The readers of the Soviet demographic encyclopedia will find articles on basic problems of the theory and methodology of the study of population problems. The number of such articles is relatively small and not all of them are of equal value. I believe, nevertheless, that they reflect quite adequately the state of development of Soviet demographic research. Although the authors and editors may be blamed for this, we should not forget that so far there has not been in the USSR a scientific institute on population or demography or a periodical publication. Most of the authors are associates of small, albeit quite prestigious, demographic departments of one institute or another, the population center of Moscow State University and various VUZ departments.

Particularly noteworthy are materials on some quite clearly earmarked areas of demographic science, such as articles on historical and economic demography, theoretical demography and the history of that science with a substantiated criticism of bourgeois concepts and methods of applied demographic studies. Our practical workers, the personnel of the planning bodies, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the state committees for labor of union republics above all (incidentally, we do not understand why the union committee deals with social problems while the republic committees do not, as though the republics have no specific social problems demanding immediate solution), social insurance ministries, and soviet personnel on all levels, not to mention scientists, above all, I would assume, economists will find particularly important articles dealing with the sources of population data, censuses, and methods for current accounting and selective studies. In work on plans for economic and social development it is inconceivable to have no knowledge of the extent to which population data are representative, or how to organize a selective study. It is only by mastering the experience and methods for conducting such studies that we would be able to organize them on the necessary level and make fuller use of the data of population censuses and current records in planning and managing the national economy and in the efficient exercise of social policy. It would be hardly necessary for every official in our state agencies to master in detail the methods for the study of demographic processes; however, it is extremely important to be familiar with the nature of demographic, statistical and sociological methods and population mapping.

The 24th CPSU Congress had already emphasized the importance of forecasting the population's growth rates. We find in the dictionary articles on this exceptionally important practical problem. It is equally important for many social scientists and practical workers to have a clear idea in the course of their daily work of the nature of demographic policy, its significance to the country and the individual areas in formulating plans for economic and social development and their implementation. Naturally, the dictionary contains a number of other articles on various problems of demographic science which, one assumes, would be of interest not only to "narrow" specialists.

The main articles show that the contemporary development of demographic knowledge follows the path of integration and specialization and that along with the specific approaches to the study of the birth rate, family and migration processes, greater attention is being paid to the so-called problem approach which, however, has still not assumed its proper role in demography. This can be illustrated with the example of the study of the family. The role of the family -- the most important nucleus of any society, including a socialist one -- is obvious. The new draft of the CPSU program and the political report of the Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress pay great attention to the family. In the dictionary the family is considered from the viewpoints of demography and of the legal and other sciences. This is an example of an object approach. Practical work, however, needs the summation of scientific recommendations which can contribute to the efficient solution of problems raised by reality in terms of creating more favorable conditions for the development of the family, helping the young family and providing the necessary help to elderly spouses. This equally applies to solving problems which affect all age groups -- children, people in their economically active

age and pensioners. We should also point out that articles on demographic aging and on the elderly must draw the attention of the soviets of people's deputies and other agencies to all such problems.

A number of interesting data are found in articles on the features of the population of the USSR and of union and autonomous oblasts and okrugs. Unfortunately, I must point out a certain meager information base for the writing of these articles. Nor do we find articles on cities with population in excess of one million. The number of such cities in the Soviet Union, as is the share of the urban population in general, is growing rapidly. Obviously, greater attention should have been paid to such cities, remembering that in all likelihood they will become the leading type of urban settlement in the future. This is a difficult problem which, I believe, is of tremendous economic and social significance and requires the increased attention of demographers. Obviously, greater attention should also be paid to the study of the experience of other countries in this area.

Many of the articles deal with various foreign countries. Essentially we can obtain information on the population of any country and of international organizations dealing with demographic problems.

An encyclopedic publication is not a book which is read starting with page one. An encyclopedia and an encyclopedic dictionary may be opened on the page where the article of interest is to be found. The study of the work, however, increasingly proves that this dictionary, which deals with the most valuable feature for the sake of which all of our plans for economic and social development are formulated -- the population, the person -- becomes a personal manual, for we always remember Lenin's words to the effect that human lives are the main value (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 305).

The demographic encyclopedia raises questions of exceptional social, economic, political and ideological significance. It is high time to take firm steps to create favorable conditions for the development of the science of the population, demography above all; it is time to realize that one of the highest priorities in the program for social development must be assigned to demographic policy. The current adverse demographic situation, which will remain for the next few years at least, cannot fail to affect our plans for economic and social development.

Why is it adverse? Above all, because by virtue of the present typical family situation in a number of areas--the one-child family--our children will be oriented toward adopting the same model. Furthermore, the children of urban residents try to find jobs in the nonproduction area, for which reason "nonprestigious" employment sectors may be ignored by our grandchildren as well. Frequently vocational guidance offered by the school is reduced to naught by the view held by the family. We can and must mention consequences of the adverse demographic situation, such as sociohygienic and genetic. Clearly, we need state institutions in charge of solving such exceptionally grave and important problems.

Nor should we forget the difficult circumstances in which our specialists in the field of population problems are working. The lack of a head specialized scientific institute prevents the further advancement of the organization of the study of comprehensive population problems, the enhancement of the efficiency of demographic policy and the strengthening of the positions of Soviet demography in the international arena. Finally, it is a question of the use of demographers who have been trained for many years by Moscow University. The fact that the all-union classification of professions of workers and positions of employees, drafted by the USSR State Committee for Labor, does not include positions for demographers exceptionally complicates the assignment of young specialists and their proper use in the national economy.

Nevertheless, let us end this review on a high note. The readers have been given an excellent book and our strengthening demographic science can be congratulated for having achieved a great success.

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#### SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) p 123

Hong Ha. "Kho Shi Min v Strane Sovetov" [Ho Chi Minh in the Land of the Soviets]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 208 pp.  
Reviewed by Candidate of Historical Sciences N. Vermoshkin.

Ho Chi Minh, the outstanding leader of the world communist and worker movements, ardent patriot and inflexible internationalist-Leninist, called the Soviet Union his second homeland. He visited our country repeatedly, staying here several years at a time, working in the Comintern and studying. It is entirely natural, therefore, that Hong Ha, the noted Vietnamese writer and journalist, researched and wrote a book on this little known period in the life and revolutionary activities of the founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam. This interesting book was well received in Ho Chi Minh's homeland. Thanks to the initiative of Politizdat, today it is available in the Russian language.

Ho Chi Minh first came to the USSR in 1923 and was assigned to work for the Comintern Executive Committee. These were the years of establishment of the first state of workers and peasants in the world. Ho Chi Minh saw the country aspiring to the future and met people full of creative power, masters of their destiny. He saw in the Soviet Union the beacon of revolutionary truth and his faith in the constructive power of the new system strengthened even further, which helped him better to understand the main problems of the age. It was precisely here, on Soviet soil, that a new stage in his life began in the 1920s and 1930s, that of the experienced professional revolutionary who, as a result of persistent training and work, and difficult and responsible Comintern assignments to countries in Southeast Asia, developed as a revolutionary and political leader of international rank. He is responsible for the creation of the Alliance of Oppressed Peoples of Asia, which rallied within it revolutionary supporters in Vietnam, China, India, Indonesia, Korea and Malaya. He was also elected to the executive committee of the Peasant International. The book under review describes this exceptionally fruitful segment in Ho Chi Minh's life and revolutionary activities. Its distinguishing feature is not the enumeration of facts and dates culled from the rich biography of the leader of the Vietnamese working people but an accurately researched study of the ideological maturing of a revolutionary-internationalist. Wherever Ho Chi Minh may have found himself and whatever

his assignment, all his thoughts were concentrated on his beloved homeland and the liberation of Vietnam from colonial yoke. At the same time, he totally dedicated himself to the world communist movement, of which he was courageous and loyal soldier. The life of the great son of the Vietnamese people is an example of organic blend of patriotism with internationalism for the sake of the triumph of the ideals of the revolutionary renovation of the world. Ho Chi Minh himself quite accurately wrote the following on this subject: "Initially, it was precisely my patriotism and by no means as yet communism, which led me to Lenin and the Communist International. It was only gradually, in the course of struggle, as I studied Marxist-Leninist theory and took part in practical work, that I developed the understanding that only socialism, only communism can free from slavery and oppression nations and working people the world over. I realized the inseparable connection between true patriotism and proletarian internationalism" (p 5).

The author describes Ho Chi Minh as a major original revolutionary and political worker, a theoretician who made a significant contribution to the dissemination and development of the Leninist doctrine of revolutions in colonial countries and who saw the inseparable connection between the national liberation movement and world socialism. Nevertheless, he remained a simple humane person, with a lively interest in everything around him. Whenever it was a question of the individual, there were no major or minor matters to Ho Chi Minh. He was extremely involved with the fate, expectations and hopes of simple working people and with revolutionary humanism. The author cites a number of examples of Ho Chi Minh's constant concern for the people with whom he worked, and for his comrades in revolutionary brotherhood he happened to meet.

This book includes some works by Ho Chi Minh written while he lived in the Soviet Union, including articles on our country. The idea of the need to protect the unity of communist ranks, unbreakable loyalty to the great cause of communism and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism runs throughout these works. Written in a simple and clear style, yet ardently and passionately, they remain topical to this day.

The publication in the Russian language of Hong Ha's book "Ho Chi Minh in the Land of the Soviets" is not only a tribute to the memory of this outstanding revolutionary and great friend of our country but also an interesting and useful work on the history of the communist and national liberation movements in Asia.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 124-125

[Text] 1. "XXVII Syezd Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza, 25 Fevralya-6 Marta 1986 Goda" [27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 25 February-6 March 1986]. Minutes. In 3 volumes. Vol 1. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 654 pp.

2. "Privetsviya XXVII Syezdu KPSS ot Kommunisticheskikh, Revolyutsionno-Demokraticeskikh, Sotsialisticheskikh i Sotsial-Demokraticeskikh Partiy, Demokraticeskikh, Osvoboditelnykh, Antivoyennykh Sil i Dvizheniy" [Greetings to the 27th CPSU Congress Presented by Communist, Revolutionary-Democratic, Socialist and Social Democratic Parties and Democratic, Liberation and Antiwar Forces and Movements]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 464 pp.

3. "Materialy Plenuma Tsentralnogo Komiteta KPSS, 16 Yuniya 1986 Goda" [Materials of the 16 June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 63 pp.

4. "Soveshchaniye Politicheskogo Konsultativnogo Komiteta Gosudarstv-Uchastnikov Varshavskogo Dogovora" [Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact Members]. Budapest, 10-11 June 1986. Documents and materials. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 47 pp.

5. "Vizit Generalnogo Sekretarya TsK KPSS M.S. Gorbacheva v Vengerskuyu Norodnuyu Respubliku, 8-9 Iyunya 1986 Goda" [Visit by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, to the Hungarian People's Republic on 8-9 June 1986]. Documents and materials. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 32 pp.

6. "SSSR-PNR: Sotrudnichestvo Rastet i Kreynet" [USSR-People's Republic of Poland: Growing and Strengthening Cooperation]. Documents and materials on the participation of the Soviet delegation headed by M.S. Gorbachev in the proceedings of the 10th PZPR. Warsaw, 28 June-4 July 1986. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 46 pp.

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9. Volkov, A.I. "Konfrontatsiya ili Kompromiss?" [Confrontation or Compromise?] (Meaning of the participation of the workers in the management of a capitalist enterprise). Mysl, Moscow, 1986, 236 pp.

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14. Maslov, V.A. and Muladzhanov, Sh.S. "Robotekhnika Beret Start" [The Start of Robot Technology]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 112 pp.

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25. Jaruzelski, W. "Zadachi Partii v Sotsialisticheskom Razvitii i Uprochenii Polskoy Narodnoy Respubliki" [Party's Tasks in the Socialist Development and Strengthening of the People's Republic of Poland]. PZPR Central Committee report to the 10th Party Congress, 29 June 1986. Translated from the Polish. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 78 pp.

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#### AFTER PUBLICATION IN KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 86 (signed to press 18 Aug 86) pp 126-128

[Text] The selected materials "Delegates to the Congress Speak" (KOMMUNIST, No 6, 1986) included a statement by D. Artsmenya, chairman of the Grodno Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Ispolkom, on practices and problems of development of population services. In particular, he criticized the view held by several ministries which are delaying the formulation of annual and 5-year plans for the development of paid services, and by the Ministry of Automotive Industry, which has reduced assignments issued to subordinate enterprises. The official answer of the ministry received by the editors states the following:

"The Ministry of Automotive Industry carefully considered the article by Comrade Artsmenya and entirely agrees with the critical remarks addressed to it. Currently assignments on providing paid services to the population by the ministry's enterprises have been increased drastically. By the end of the 12th 5-year period their volume will have increased by a factor of 2.4, which is consistent with the assignments of the Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services in 1986-2000, decreed by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers.

"V. Omelyanchik, first deputy minister of automotive industry."

The editors have not as yet received the answers of the other ministries to the questions raised in the publication in KOMMUNIST.

Readers responded to a survey by Dr of Philosophical Sciences F. Filippov "Sociologist's Guidelines. Notes on Studies of Problems of Soviet Youth in the 1980s" (No 8, 1986), which raises a number of topical problems of development of sociology. Following are three letters received by the editors.

The survey "Sociologist's Guidelines," published in KOMMUNIST, was discussed at the Institute of Sociological Research (ISI) of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Dr of Philosophical Sciences Professor V.N. Ivanov, the institute's director, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A.V. Kinsburskiy and other scientists who participated in the discussion noted the timeliness of the

survey and the gravity and importance of the problems it raised. In the years to come sociological studies of young people must not only assume one of the leading positions in the scientific study of the ways of accelerated development of Soviet society but also reach a qualitatively new standard. The participants in the discussion supported the view held by F. Filippov, the author's article, on the need to refine the concept of "youth," and the age limits of this population category. At the same time, other views were expressed on the matter, in particular some dealing with the great importance of criteria of the spiritual maturity of young people and their labor activeness and creative initiative.

The concepts expressed in the article affect many "sore spots" of sociological studies of youth--their poor theoretical and empirical base, low level of organization and coordination in the country, insufficiently profound interpretation of results, and absence of close ties with the practice of communist upbringing of young people. Unfortunately, even the best publications are drawing the attention of only a small number of specialists. Unquestionably, the article accurately emphasizes the significance of the party stance held by the researcher-sociologist, which must be organically combined with a high methodical standard of surveys and data processing.

The survey accurately raises the broader problems of development of sociological science as a whole, which is becoming particularly important in the light of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Today we need a more substantive interpretation of habitual concepts frequently used in sociological research, such as "satisfaction with the job." We need scientifically substantiated sociological forecasts for the immediate and more distant future and a comprehensive study of the social factors of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and trends and indicators in the development of the social area. These new tasks of sociology have been reflected in the plan for scientific research of the USSR Academy of Sciences ISI for the 12th 5-year period.

At the same time, as the article properly points out, relations between sociologists and local organizations and publishing houses are still frequently complicated by manifestations of departmentalism, parochialism and reinsurance. In solving these problems, the sociologists need the steady assistance of party committees. Criticism and self-criticism in scientific circles must also be comprehensively developed.

By V. Mansurov, USSR Academy of Sciences ISI deputy director, doctor of philosophical sciences and Z. Golenkova, party buro deputy secretary, doctor of philosophical sciences.

We, associates at the BeSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law, would like to express our impressions on a number of features included in the survey by F. Filippov "Sociologist's Guidelines," published in KOMMUNIST. In our view, the fact that for the first time in many years the CPSU Central Committee theoretical and political journal has published an analytical survey of works on youth problems is in itself quite important. Obviously, the time has come for surveys on problems of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia as well. We believe that we must sum up the results

of a specific stage in the development of sociological research in order properly to define the main guidelines for the future. Such are precisely the functions performed by the comprehensive study of the condition of sociological studies of youth problems published in the journal. The survey raises most important problems concerning the main ideological and moral guidelines of the sociologist in interpreting trends and contradictions in the development of our society and the dialectics of the social maturing of young people. The formulation and implementation of the plans for life of the Soviet people and their social, professional and value orientations have been actively studied by sociologists for the past 20 years. Life itself, however, and the strategy of acceleration which has been put on the agenda, introduce a number of essentially new features. Some negative consequences which demand a careful study have appeared in the social area. This includes unjustifiable amounts of intersectorial and interregional shifts, high degree of instability of labor collectives, and the poor involvement of young cadres in such collectives, which entail economic, social and moral costs. It is precisely because of such processes, as the author justifiably notes, that we must interpret sociological data on the life plans and value orientations of young people.

We believe that the author's idea of the different nature of dissatisfaction on the part of young people must be developed (as should the tools used in its determination). Obviously, dissatisfaction with poor organization or material and technical support of the labor process and violations of the principles of social justice is consistent with the standards of Soviet morality only when it includes the fruits of the constructive elimination of shortcomings. It is precisely the active dissatisfaction, which triggers the aspiration to struggle against errors and shortcomings in the work (rather than petty criticism or passive expectation of improvements), that must be consistent with the behavioral standards of Soviet youth. For that reason, both the instruments and methods of measurement must more adequately determine the specific reasons and nature of dissatisfaction and its social consequences. Does it mobilize the creative potential and constructive thinking of the worker or does it leave him passive and indifferent? We believe that it is precisely now, in this period of profound quality changes in social relations that this becomes extremely important from the viewpoint of the ideological, labor and moral upbringing of young people. The intensified study of such processes is the duty of our sociological science.

The author also raises the question of the need for a more active study of the dynamics of the prestige of a profession as a reflection in the public opinion of the actual production-technical and social organization of labor. The approach to the problem from such a standpoint could enable us to prevent through timely measures a drop in the prestige of engineering work, for example, which has been significant over the past 20 years, and which conflicts with the development of the scientific and technical revolution and triggered the concern expressed at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress. According to our studies, the assessment of youth activities by labor collectives is of prime importance. For this reason the survey quite properly draws attention to existing gaps in the study of the moral prestige of labor collectives and their influence on the social awareness of the young generation.



The absence of scientific debates among students of youth topics, noted by the author, may be explained not least by the fact that, unfortunately, researchers operate within their own narrow realm of youth problems which, although intersecting in terms of content (and frequently duplicating each other) are, in their majority, difficult to compare with each other in terms of method and technique of processing empirical data. Yet the need for a comprehensive study of youth topics requires the coordinated efforts of scientists, in order equally to encompass all aspects of the studied phenomenon and to formulate uniform guidelines and methodical principles for the study of the problems with a view to providing a first rate comparative study of both topic and volume of research.

The new tasks which face Soviet society call for the organization of comprehensive and coordinated research by social scientists on the union-wide scale so that the problems of the young generation may be interpreted on the proper ideological level, in their entirety and comprehensiveness.

By Ye. Babosov, BeSSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and G. Sokolova, doctor of philosophical sciences.

The critical notes on the study of problems of Soviet youth, provided by Professor F. Filippov in "Sociologist's Guidelines" consider a number of important aspects of contemporary youth sociology. The survey was discussed at a session of the department of scientific communism and the collective of the sociological laboratory of the Frunze Polytechnical Institute. The unanimous opinion of the speakers was that the publication of the survey is timely and useful. The author covers a number of essential problems of the development of Soviet youth, which are still insufficiently studied by sociologists: attitude toward labor, place in the socioclass structure of socialist society, spiritual aspect, moral and value guidelines, and topical problems, such as the adaptation and social activeness of young specialists, prestige of a profession and job satisfaction.

The strategy of acceleration presumes the further enhancement of the human factor and the restructuring of the awareness of every member of our society in accordance with the tasks of the new stage in the country's development. Under these circumstances, it is extremely important to study the ways of restructuring the awareness and behavior of young people in the course of their studies, vocational guidance, after graduation from school, and at the beginning of a labor career.

The active involvement of adolescents in labor activities is a complex and comprehensive process. Here as well the labor collective is of great importance. The creation of a favorable microclimate in the collective, as the author accurately emphasizes, is one of the most important factors in upgrading labor efficiency and cadre stability. Unquestionably, such an atmosphere in the collective will contribute to improving the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of young people. In our view, therefore, the comprehensive sociological study of the labor collective must become one of the central topics for the sociologists.

The survey published in KOMMUNIST sums up the development of Soviet youth sociology and earmarks interesting and promising trends in this area. The main concepts and conclusions contained in the work could become a good starting point for the fruitful and self-critical discussion in sociological circles of crucial scientific problems and a means of upgrading the role of sociological research in the practice of communist upbringing.

The problems raised in the survey will be a guideline in our further studies of youth problems and, in particular, the specific features of youth sociology under the conditions of the Kirghiz SSR.

By K. Isayev, head of the department of scientific communism, Frunze Polytechnical Institute.

In publishing the responses of the readers to the survey "Sociologist's Guidelines," the editors of KOMMUNIST express their thanks to all comrades who responded to the article and made a number of interesting remarks and suggestions on improving the quality of sociological research and strengthening its ties with life.

In accordance with the wishes of the readers, and taking into consideration of the importance of the problems of sociology, raised in the survey and the letters, the editors intend to pursue in the future the further discussion of such topics by the journal.

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